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MR. HOOVER should not complain too much or too outspokenly if Congress takes advantage of his weakness and maladroitness to bother him. In his annual message he said that the time had not yet come for constructive treatment of the business depression, thus making it clear that he was still, more than a year after the stock-market crash, thinking in terms of relief, but now he is worried at the apparent purpose of Congress to appropriate twice as much as he has asked for drought relief. The House leaders failed to get the two-thirds' majority necessary to suspend the rules and cut the Senate's $60,000,000 to the $30,000,000 demanded by the President. His ill-judged censure of Congress for "playing politics with human misery" naturally aroused bitter feeling on Capitol Hill, but his reported agreement to keep step with the regulars may save him from the censure of the La Follette resolution. The decision of the Senate conferees to allow a separate vote on the Robinson amendment indicates fresh trouble for the President in getting the authority he desires to have the allocation of the $118,000,000 emergency construction fund left in his hands. The manifest lack of confidence in his judgment and political leadership is matched by opposition to some of his appointments. Enough has been brought out about Frank R. McNinch, a nominee for the Federal Power Commission, to show that he has no fitness for the place. His confirmation, however, seems to depend a good deal upon the attitude of Cameron Morrison, who succeeds the late Senator Overman of North Carolina, and Morrison's position is complicated by the fact that his colleague, Senator Simmons, whose term expires March 4, is supporting McNinch, while Senator-elect Bailey, who defeated Simmons, is strongly opposed to confirmation.

THE BANK OF UNITED STATES, with sixty offices, $160,000,000 of deposits, and 400,000 depositors, was the largest bank in this country, and perhaps in the world, ever to suspend payments; yet its closing on December 11 had comparatively little adverse effect on the security markets or on general public confidence. There are several reasons for this. Though the resources of the bank were very large when compared, for example, with large banks in 1907, the institution was not of the first rank in either size or influence among the banks of today. Again, the most drastic deflation of security markets in our history had already occurred; and this had resulted in an equally drastic contraction of brokers' loans, so that nearly all New York banks that had themselves adhered to sound business practice, and the Federal Reserve System as a whole, are in an extraordinarily strong position. Finally, confidence was engendered by the immediate action of twenty-three Clearing House banks in offering to make loans to depositors in the closed institution up to 50 per cent of their net balances at 5 per cent. It remains now for the New York State Banking Department to make a thorough investigation of the causes of the closed bank's difficulties. One aspect of the incident calls for special comment. There are good grounds for believing that several New York newspapers knew of the run on the suspended bank the day before it was closed, but published nothing about it, while some of them deliberately "played down" the news of the closing itself. All this was no doubt done with the laudable purpose of preventing any wide unsettlement of public confidence. Such suppression, however, is not only unfair to most of a bank's depositors, but when it comes to the knowledge of the public, as it inevitably does, its effect is rather to undermine confidence than to maintain it.

VOLUNTARY INSURANCE SCHEMES instituted by employers are entirely inadequate to protect wage-earners against the losses of unemployment. This fact is strikingly brought out in a report just made public by the Industrial Relations Counselors, Inc., which numbers among its directors Owen D. Young, Cyrus McCormick, Jr., and John D. Rockefeller III. According to this report, there were in effect in 1928 seventy-two such systems covering 107,000 workers, less than one-half of 1 per cent of our wage-earners. The movement has been somewhat extended since that date, the great General Electric plan, for example, having been introduced during the past year, but it is doubtful whether one worker in a hundred is covered at

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the present time, and there is no reason for hoping that such plans will ever be extended to more than a small fraction of our workers. To oppose compulsory insurance because of a preference for voluntary private protection, therefore, is to urge that the great body of workers remain unprotected. Without indorsing this position, the Industrial Relations Counselors declare: "Both as regards relief of the unemployed workers' distress and counteracting the inevitable reaction of unemployment upon business, the need for more adequate protection against the hazard of unemployment cannot be gainsaid."

THE WORLD SUGAR CONFERENCE illustrates both the necessity and the difficulty of international control of basic-commodity production. With a world sugar output of about 27,000,000 tons in 1929-30, stocks on hand are estimated at the vastly excessive figure of 4,200,000 tons, and consumption in the present year has fallen not less than 1,000,000 tons below that of last year. The world price of about a cent and a third a pound is declared to be below the cost of the cheapest producers, the Javanese, and the Cuban industry, largely American-owned, even with its 20 per cent tariff preference in our market, is in a critical position. A Cuban-American committee, headed by Thomas L. Chadbourne, after great difficulty negotiated an agreement with the Dutch Sugar Trust for the limitation of Cuban and Javanese exports and the gradual disposal of existing surplus stocks over a period of five years, the plan being predicated on a reduction of the existing overproduction. The scene then shifted from Amsterdam to Brussels, where it became necessary to secure a corresponding undertaking from the European beet-sugar producers, who were asked to cut their exports by 15 per cent next year. Beet-growing is an important branch of Continental agriculture. Germany, Czecho-Slovakia, and Poland, the great exporting countries, with surpluses already on hand and with exporters in a very trying position, naturally fought hard against restriction of their exports. It is difficulties of this kind that surround every effort at international control of production in periods of depression. Nor are those difficulties at an end when an agreement is reached; it is then still necessary to see that the agreement is carried out. In the final outcome at Brussels, the Germans alone refused to agree to the reduction of exports demanded, declaring that the necessity of meeting reparation payments and private obligations abroad made it impossible for them to cut exports as required. The conference broke up amid much feeling, but there is still hope that the Germans in view of the desperate condition of the industry, may come to terms within the next thirty days.

ONE OF THE MOST DISCOURAGING features of the present difficult situation in Germany is the apparent reawakening of the military spirit. Baron von Schoenaich, himself once a militarist but now an ardent pacifist, discusses in another section of *The Nation* one aspect of this recrudescence, showing the new form militarism has taken. More disturbing is the frankly militant attitude taken by an ever larger section of the German population, and also the secrecy which surrounds the expenditure of huge sums of money by the Ministry of Defense. It was popular feeling and nothing else that compelled the government to suppress the film "All Quiet on the Western Front." In this connection the New York *Times* correspondent in Berlin suggested that "the mad scramble to prevent the dark side of war becoming known has at least some connection with the clearly growing and spreading desire to keep the idea of some kind of a war of liberation fresh and popular." As for the Defense Ministry's activities, M. Franklin-Bouillon recently charged in the French Chamber of Deputies that the German Ministry was spending considerable sums in clandestine preparations for war, including the training of German aviators in Russia. Far from being challenged in Germany, his speech was not even reported in the German press. We can readily understand the feeling of hopelessness most Germans are now experiencing, and we can see no way of stopping this feeling from being translated into a demand for militant action except by Europe's honestly disarming itself as Germany is disarmed, and by easing the reparations pressure, which would require American cooperation.

PILSUDSKI has turned his new weapon, that of terrorism, upon the Polish parliament. The scandalous action of his troops in Eastern Galicia and of his political followers in Upper Silesia wiped out the last vestige of that sympathy which liberals throughout the world had had for partitioned Poland before the war. However, even before he set out to suppress the Ruthenian and German minorities by terrorism, his swing toward reaction had become all too apparent. He has now gone completely over to the extreme right. He wants to rule without even the semblance of democratic or parliamentary assistance. It was toward this end that the opposition press was silenced, opposition tickets barred, and opposition candidates imprisoned in the recent elections. Despite these tactics a minority opposed to Pilsudski won seats in the Sejm and the Senate. This minority the dictator is now seeking to gag or eliminate altogether by abolishing parliamentary immunity. Seven of the minority members are still held in the fortress of Brest-Litovsk, where, according to other members lately released from this prison, the victorious but imprisoned candidates were subjected to torture by various means. Europe can ill afford a revolution in Poland at this time, particularly because of that country's geographical position, but that is what may come unless some way is found of checking the aimless and unnecessary activities of the Pilsudski dictatorship.

DESPITE THE OPTIMISM of the State Department in Washington and the confidence assumed by President Machado, all is not well, politically speaking, in Cuba. It can no longer be doubted that, to quote the London *Economist*, there is serious and widespread opposition to "the dictator whose function it has been to maintain in Cuba that state of affairs which meets the requirements of the United States." With the increase in rioting and disorders throughout the republic Machado has again suspended the constitutional guaranties and has reinstituted censorship of the press. The internal situation is frankly rotten, and it seems clear that a majority of Cubans are openly opposed to the dictatorship, but we nevertheless doubt that this opposition can overthrow the present regime. Machado maintains a formidable army. Its officers have

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een trained in Europe and the United States and it is quipped with the most modern implements of warfare. The General Staff has made, and keeps up to date, a minute nd strategic study of every corner of the island. The epublic is crossed with highways and railroads to concen- rate military forces. No untrained rebel army, no matter ow enthusiastic, could hope to win against this imposing ıilitary organization. So long as Machado finds the finan- ial means of keeping his army obedient, it is not likely that rebellion will succeed.

DOMINION STATUS, very limited, is predicted for India as a result of the Round Table Conference, he limitations to consist in continuation of British control ver the Indian army, India's foreign relations, and, most mportant, her finances. Just what would be left to be alled dominion status might not be quite clear to a citizen, ay, of Canada, though any diehard Tory might have an nswer. The Indian delegates are willing, it is reported, o concede control for a specified time over foreign relations nd the army, but they have refused so far to agree to 3ritish control of finances, contending logically enough that ıe who controls the purse-strings controls India, whether it ›e called a dominion or a crown colony. On the other ıand, it is felt that Parliament will not consent to desert 3ritish investments. Apparently the Nationalist boycott, hough it has virtually paralyzed business in Bombay, has ıot yet demonstrated to British investors the obvious fact hat ultimate protection of their interests lies not with any 3ritish Parliament but with the Indian people. Within the Indian delegation the Hindus, the Moslems, and the Sikhs ıave not yet reached a working decision in the matter of egislative representation in any new governmental set-up. The problem is, of course, a very serious one, but in the ong view it is one that India must work out for herself.

THE UNITED STATES still maintains its shameful position at the tail end of civilized countries in the natter of the maternal mortality rate. Beginning with Denmark, which has a death-rate of 2.2 per thousand live ›irths, we proceed down the line past Italy with 2.6, Japan with 2.8, Czecho-Slovakia with 3.6, Esthonia with 4.1, the Irish Free State with 4.5, all the way to the United States gnominiously at the bottom, with a rate of 6.5. Although :his is an average for the forty-eight States, many of them show a maternal death-rate far in excess of that figure. The Southern States are the worst culprits: Florida had in 1928 a rate of 10.1, Georgia of 10.7, Louisiana of 11.4, and South Carolina of 10.9. The best record we can show is Iowa, with 4.8, in the same class with northern Ireland and only a little better than such "backward" countries as Lithuania and Chile. No satisfactory explanation of our comparatively large maternal death-rate has ever been offered. More prenatal and postnatal care is suggested as a remedy, but surely Italy and Japan and the South European countries do not specialize in scientific medical attention during pregnancy. It is worth noting, however, that in 4,726 cases cared for by approved nursing methods by the Maternity Center Association of New York the death-rate for mothers was reduced to 2.2. Neither these figures nor the figures for the country as a whole are well known. They should be given wide publicity.

THAT CONDESCENDING PHRASE "the woman's record" has had its status magnificently lifted by Miss Ruth Nichols, who beat the time of Charles A. Lindbergh, no less, when she flew from Los Angeles to Roosevelt Field in 13 hours and 22 seconds of flying time. In flying at least, so far as we know, women are under no handicaps that do not apply to men. Moreover, quite aside from the feminist fervor here displayed, the term is confusing. Often the real record is not even given in the accounts of women aviators. In the present instance, it was necessary to read several lines of the story—and get over that "woman's record"—before one knew that Miss Nichols had beaten Lindbergh and was second only to Hawks. The news writers were careful to point out, of course, that Miss Nichols, unlike her men competitors, spent a night at Wichita en route. But they also admitted that while Hawks and Lindbergh had made their flights in almost perfect weather conditions through balmy skies, Miss Nichols picked one of the worst months in the year for her trip and encountered most of the known kinds of weather, good and bad. Miss Nichols has certainly vindicated the "woman's record." Now it ought to be abolished. One record is enough for both sexes. And we imagine that women flyers would the first to agree, including Miss Nichols, who modestly declared that the speed of her plane was the most important factor in her achievement.

OUR FAVORITE PHYSICIST, mathematician, public man, and Visitor to These Shores is Professor Albert Einstein. In appearance he is delightful; his manners, either with interviewers or with the Mayor of this city, are perfection; he can crack a joke, even if it is in German; and he knows all about the theory of relativity, which does not, however, prejudice our judgment one way or the other. This affection for Professor Einstein is of long standing, but when he talks about peace and war it rises to its greatest heights. There are two ways, he declared in an address before the New History Society on December 14, of abolishing war:

> The first, which has already been practiced in many countries, is to refuse military duty in time of war. Real pacifists should practice this in times of peace as well. In countries where there is compulsory military service this can be done. In countries where there is no conscription, however, the pacifist can only publicly declare that he will refuse any military duty in time of war, and it should be the mission of pacifists to recruit people from all over the world for this. . . . If only 2 per cent of the men liable for war service were to refuse, there would not be enough jails in the world to take care of them.

His second suggestion was the establishment of an international war-resisters fund, to which pacifists all over the world should contribute. Both proposals go to the heart of the matter, and if more persons of an eminence comparable to Professor Einstein's would attempt to further them, something might be done to remove the curse of humankind. We warn our German guest, however, that he had better not try to become a citizen of the United States. For his sentiments would be most unpopular with our naturalization authorities.

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Raiding the Treasury

IN using the press the other day to lecture a Congress which was showing signs of plunging into an illogical and uneconomical spending spree Mr. Hoover declared that "prosperity cannot be restored by raids upon the public Treasury." We agree that prosperity cannot be thus restored. We go even farther and assert that raids upon the Treasury should never be tolerated whether they come disguised as tax refunds, or as special grants to the farmers or other classes, or take the more indirect form of high tariff rates. At the moment, however, the question is not one of pouring forth the taxpayers' money without reason, in the hope that if only enough money were spent we should all be wealthier and happier. The question is one of finding sufficient funds to finance a sensible and constructive plan for dealing with the unemployment problem. Mr. Hoover's suggestion that this cannot be done without looting the Treasury, a method that we agree must be ruled out, is wholly misleading, and is prompted perhaps by the President's inability or unwillingness to grasp the magnitude and gravity of the problem before the country. The Treasury need not be raided. Mr. Hoover has means much closer at hand for obtaining the necessary funds. It is his duty to the country at all times, but particularly so just now, to see that the public finances are carefully managed. Sound and honest economy would be productive of funds much larger than the mere $150,000,000 Mr. Hoover has asked for unemployment relief, and they could be used not only in dealing with that problem, but in meeting other special situations due to the economic depression in which the government can take action.

Careful financial management should begin with the new budget, which calls for expenditures in the fiscal year 1931-32 totaling $4,667,845,468.07. This is an increase of approximately $230,000,000 over the total appropriations for the current fiscal year. It is more than reasonable to ask why an increase in government expenses is necessary in this period of depression and falling prices. Retrenchment would seem the wiser policy. Certainly the increase of $110,000,000 asked for veterans' administration, making the total of this item almost a billion dollars, might be examined with a view to further economy, especially in light of the past history of this division of the government. Another questionable item is the $100,000,000 increase for the Federal Farm Board, obviously destined to be used for speculation in a vain effort to help the farmers. Similarly, the $690,000,000 asked for the military arm of the government could stand close scrutiny with a view to saving many millions of dollars. Mr. Hoover has stated that the construction of certain naval vessels was delayed pending the outcome of the London conference. There were no disastrous results from this delay. Why not postpone for a few years the $170,000,000 of naval construction planned for 1931, or still better, abolish it altogether?

But all the responsibility does not rest with the executive branch of the government. Congress, too, must watch the taxpayers' dollars. Bills for the expenditure of $500,000 for unneeded improvements here or of $20,000,000 for ill-timed construction there under the guise of relieving th jobless have with justice been denounced by Mr. Hoove An outstanding and flagrant example of this thoughtle waste is the proposal to convert the war veterans' bonu certificates into cash. Senator Vandenberg of Michiga wants a full payment, entailing an outlay of about $3,000 000,000; Representative Fish of New York has urged a 2 per cent payment, making a total of about $750,000,00(Secretary Mellon has already pointed out what a grea additional load on the Treasury, and eventually on the tax payers, the financing of either of these proposals would in volve. Moreover, the basic economic position of the wa veterans would not be one whit improved by this uneconom ical gift, nor should we be any nearer a solution of th unemployment problem. If Mr. Hoover, instead of stupidl closing his eyes to his own responsibilities in the situation had presented Congress with a definite plan looking towar a sensible solution of the unemployment problem, or if h had otherwise demonstrated that he appreciated the serious ness of the country's economic plight, perhaps he would no now be faced with this barrage of pork-barrel and log-rolling legislation. It cannot be denied that a number of Congress men are "playing politics at the expense of human misery" neither can it be denied that far more of them, seeing th problem more honestly than does the President, are con scientiously endeavoring to be of some help to the country in the present crisis. They have plenty of courage; what they lack is leadership and guidance.

Mr. Hoover has failed to supply the necessary leadership. His assertion that the small sums he has asked for represent "the extreme sums which can be applied by the federal government" toward meeting the present emergency has failed to convince either Congress or the country. If he would set forth certain concrete proposals designed to deal with the situation as far as it is legitimately possible for the government to go, he would win the support of the public and compel Congress to follow him rather than its own individual whims. The requisite funds could quickly be found. An examination of the budget reveals that a much larger sum than the $150,000,000 Mr. Hoover has set as the limit could be made available, and it could be done without resorting to anything that looks like a raid on the Treasury. And should this sum prove insufficient, federal taxes could be adjusted in such a way as to increase revenues without placing too heavy a strain on productive industry or on the country's purchasing power. Indeed, an adjustment of federal taxes that will deal more equitably with top-heavy incomes and excess earnings appears in any event to be essential to a sound economy. This would bring about a more equitable distribution of income and thereby help greatly to stabilize our economic order, which in itself would serve to reduce or prevent unemployment. More than that, unless the federal government utilizes the present crisis to devise such measures for the prevention of like disasters in the future, we are little likely to give any attention to the matter in times of prosperity. It is a pity now to waste time in bickering.

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The End of the Chapter

IT is a relief to know that the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament has at last gone the way of all flesh, and that one of the least inspiring of the headliners' anding items will no longer have to be given a place in e news. The speeches at the final session were in keeping ith the record of more than five discordant years. M. unacharski reminded the delegates that they had rebuffed l the efforts of Soviet Russia to save the proceedings from iterility," and characterized as "fictitious" the so-called sarmament methods by which, as it seemed to him, the owers were merely trying to strengthen their own positions. ount von Bernstorff, who had seen most of the German iggestions swept aside along with the Russian, hoped that ie general disarmament conference, which is expected to ieet in 1932, might be more considerate. Lord Cecil agreed ith M. Lunacharski's criticisms, but went off quickly on a oratorical appeal to the world to do its duty, while M. Tassigli announced that doubting France would come to ie conference "with the will to do her utmost" provided, f course, that the little item of security were not over-ooked. When Ambassador Gibson had finished speaking e had let the tired delegates know in plain language that ieir work was a great disappointment to the United States, nd had dropped a disturbing hint that unless the govern-ients came to the conference prepared to do more than the ommission proposed, the last end of the business might be orse than the first. If there were any flowers in memory f the deceased, the press dispatches failed to mention them.

Yet the debates of the commission have not been without heir lessons and their fruits. The world knows now, better han it appeared to know five years ago, that the reduction r limitation of armaments is a difficult matter, that if the ask is left to military and naval experts it will never be lone, and that the politicians are fertile only in objections. t has been made clear beyond peradventure that the Kellogg-Briand pact is as yet only a scrap of paper as far as aiding lisarmament is concerned, and that the two governments vhich sponsored the pact still lead the armament race. It s worth while to have had these demonstrations clearly nade, even if the years spent in making them leave the roblem of disarmament pretty much where it was.

Not wholly where it was, however. Bearing in mind hat the commission was not expected to insure disarmament, ut only to show how disarmament might be accomplished f the nations chose to undertake it, the commission has dis-olved leaving something to its credit. The draft treaty vhich has been drawn up for the consideration of the con-erence does at least suggest a method, and works out ten-atively a good many of the details. It commits the con-erence to the reduction and limitation of military, naval, nd air forces of all kinds, to strict regulation of the dis-ribution of naval tonnage and the transfer of tonnage from ne category to another, to the budgetary limitation of expenditures for war purposes, to the abolition of the use of poisonous gases or other substances as instruments of warfare, and to full publicity regarding armaments. To be ure, the absence of specific figures of limitation leaves the draft treaty only a skeleton, and the conference may set the figures too high or juggle them, but there is at least a prescription blank ready to be filled in.

Perhaps, on the whole, this is as far as the commission should have been expected to go. The great shortcoming of the agreement is that it passes on to the conference precisely the same technical disputes that have again and again balked the commission, and with them the troublesome question of national security which the French and their allies have all along insisted must be settled before the work of disarmament can begin. The treaty itself represents only a nominal agreement on the part of the commission, for it is shot through with reservations made by various Powers, among them an extraordinary reservation in favor of the Baltic states, intended, apparently, to bring Russia to their terms. Moreover, virtually the whole treaty may at any time be suspended for any Power which thinks its security menaced, the suspension to continue until such time as the other signatories shall have met and given their advice. All these are serious blemishes, and their presence does not strengthen hope. It remains for those who still believe, in spite of the small progress thus far made, that disarmament by international agreement is possible, to do what they can, in the interval of a year or more before the conference meets, to make sure that conciliation and enlightenment shall bulk larger in the proceedings of the conference than they did in the work of preparing for it.

What Happens in Court

MRS. MINNIE FREEDMAN sues in the Superior Court in Boston to prevent Mrs. Tillie Feldman from "making any rude or improper faces, grimaces, or jeering or scoffing." . . . Important Negro king sues hospital at Boma in the Congo for the possession of his leg, which had been amputated as a result of a serious accident. . . . Two hundred sixty thousand cases are waiting trial in the Poor Man's Court in New York City, some of them dating back four years.

New Jersey court enjoins a jilted lover from committing suicide on a girl's doorstep and judge advises the young man to seek affection elsewhere. . . . New York judge rules that a man may slander his own wife. . . . Alabama court holds that a wife may not keep a dog without her husband's consent, but Michigan court holds that a wife is entitled to the physical possession of her marriage certificate. . . . Madame Jeritza sues Louis and Isadore Cohen for using her name on cigar boxes. . . . Albert H. Vitale, New York City magistrate, is removed from office.

President of a State Bar Association is requested to test out the anti-evolution law and suggests that he must have a retainer, because if he does the job for nothing it is solely out of civic interest, and he will be locally ostracized. . . . Vermont court finds that false teeth furnished to the wife are necessities for which the husband is liable, provided he allows her to wear them. . . . Six thousand divorces were granted in New York State in 1930 on the ground of adultery. Adultery is a crime in New York State. Enforcement of the adultery criminal law requires the erection of at least one new prison to house these 12,000 persons. . . . Francis X. Mancuso resigns judgeship.

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In the last year of Justice John Marshall's tenure as a member of the United States Supreme Court, seven judges rendered thirty-nine opinions. The nine judges at present on the Supreme Court Bench decide over 400 cases a year. . . . Since 1900, 1,250,000 laws and ordinances have been passed impinging on personal liberties. . . . It is still a crime in Washington, D. C., for an alien to pick wild flowers. . . . There is a special statute against the impersonation of God on the stage, which statute has been agreeably nullified in the case of "The Green Pastures." . . . Judge Francis X. McQuade resigns after being told by referee that he is unfit to hold office.

Eli J. Ginerich enjoins seven priests and bishops of the Mennonite church from further "moidening" or "miting" him. Such boycott, he avers, arose because he had rubber in his suspenders, which is against the church rule, and as a result of such "miting" his daughter was unable to be married. . . . The code of ethics of the American Bar Association still declares that it is unprofessional for a lawyer to state his own personal belief in his client's cause. . . . Charles Evans Hughes was objected to as United States Supreme Court Judge on the ground of the position he took in various cases where he acted as counsel. His best friends answered the charge by declaring that of course Mr. Hughes did not believe in the causes for which he pleaded and that his name on a brief carries no implication that the brief expresses his own opinion. . . . Fall is convicted in oil scandals for accepting $100,000 in Doheny black bag. Doheny is acquitted for using the same $100,000 and the same bag, confirming the old adage that it is more blessed to give than to receive.

Censoring the Stage

THE unequivocal statement issued recently on the subject of play censorship by the Dramatists' Guild of the Authors' League of America should draw applause from everyone intelligently interested in the welfare of the theater. The statement, after protesting against recent attempts to censor the stage, points out that the existing law against obscene plays covers every possible angle of the situation, even going so far as to prohibit a play that will "tend to the corruption of the morals of youth *or others.*" But the dramatists go farther and declare:

> . . . the development of an adult theater in an adult civilization is dependent upon the free discussion of any and all debatable subjects, whether in the field of religion, economics, politics, or morals, and [the dramatists] announce their intention of resisting to the limit the forces of repression and intolerance which, under the pretense of fighting obscenity, may seek to strike another blow at American freedom.

This is very handsome plain speaking and brings the issue down to its fundamentals. For it is plain that obscenity is only a minor issue in the campaign to censor the stage. There are in New York revues, burlesque shows, variety shows which go on year after year without molestation from the police or anybody else, and which present frank and open smut in its most undisguised form. But let a play discuss, from an unconventional angle, marriage, divorce, "free love," let it seem to champion birth control, let make a jest of adultery, and the censors are hotfoot aft it—the public must be protected against these subversive idea Moreover, not alone in the field of morals and social b havior must this protection extend. We must not expo our tender-minded New York public to wicked ideas abo revolution, to disparagement of the United States gover ment, to disrespect, if seriously expressed, for our nation institutions. The motion-picture censorship goes so far to frown on disrespect for the prohibition laws!

It is worth while to stop and ask who are the perso who wish to censor ideas presented in the theater. Co plaints against a given play are made by an individual, b it is safe to say that the Society for the Suppression of Vic is likely to be somewhere in the background. The Catholi church, the Anglican church, the Christian Scientists, wh are notoriously the most ardent censors, do not consider i good politics to come out in the open with a complaint. I they did, it would put the situation on a much clearer foo ing. For if the Catholic church stands squarely agains birth control, for example, as of course it does, it might i all fairness warn its followers against plays which discus the subject favorably; which is a very different matter fro invoking, directly or indirectly, a law which will operat against Catholics and non-Catholics alike.

John S. Sumner, secretary of the New York Societ for the Suppression of Vice, has recently formed a "Citizens Committee for Clean Plays," with the avowed purpose o resisting attacks upon the present obscenity laws. It i rumored that efforts will shortly be made to pass a cit ordinance requiring all plays to receive a license from th licensing bureau—a clean bill of health, that is, from th standpoint of the would-be censors. Even though no publi announcement to this effect has yet been made, it should meet with protest from all persons interested in "an adul theater in an adult civilization." They may be warned tha while the passage of a law at Albany which would extend the power of the censorship regulations requires more strength than its proponents could muster at present, a city ordinance would be much easier of passage, and obviously every pressure would be brought upon the licensing bureau to keep unwanted plays off the boards.

The Dramatists' Guild is quite right in believing that every effort should be made now to keep the censor in his place. It is right also to go farther and say that the censor has no place. The adult public is perfectly able to decide for itself what plays offend the public *mores;* and by refusing to attend a play that does, it exercises the only censorship that should exist in a free state. The truth is that the public *mores* are changing, now and always. Especially in the matter of language, with which plays are so essentially concerned, ideas of what is or is not permissible are different from what they were. We hear on the stage what we hear, not infrequently, in the drawing-room. Even our maiden aunts sit composedly by and listen to an intimate discussion of family relationships. The time may very well come when we shall see a reaction against this free thinking and free speaking. The female leg may again become a limb and to display it may become an impropriety. When that day arrives the American public will be its own censor; meanwhile it has given ample proof that it does not want one superimposed by anybody.

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The Power Fight Goes On

By RUTH FINNEY

Washington, December 10

OFFENSE is often the best method of defense. It occupies the attention of the enemy and spends his strength. So the power industry, finding itself confronted with rowing sentiment in Congress for regulation of all utility olding companies and all interstate power transactions, with manifest swing throughout the country toward public own-ship, has launched an attack upon the existing Magna harta of power regulation, the Federal Water Power Act. hus, after elections calculated to dismay the stoutest power-ompany heart, those representatives of the people who are n the other side of the battle have had no time in which to ivor victory.

The Water Power Act is under fire from several direc-ons. The Clarion River Power Company has asked an in-inction in the courts of the District of Columbia to test ie extent of the Federal Power Commission's authority nder it. A second court test is in the making through re-isal of the Appalachian Electric Power Company to recog-ize the right of the commission to supervise its hydro-ectric project on New River, Virginia. Other attacks have een made from within the government. The Attorney eneral of the United States has written an opinion in hich he suggests the possibility of "serious questions regard-ig the constitutionality" of the Federal Water Power Act. he same opinion outlined a technical way by which the ower Commission might put aside the provisions of the ct and give the Appalachian Company the right to go ahead ith its project free of all federal regulation. Finally, the lame-duck" Federal Power Commission, composed of Sec-etaries Wilbur, Hurley, and Hyde, has recommended to ongress in its annual report that control of water-power evelopments be considered primarily a responsibility of the ndividual States. The Federal Power Commissioners and ie Attorney General are the government officials with whom efense of the Power Act, in the court cases now pending, ests.

The Clarion River Company case is concerned with the ight of the Power Commission to audit accounts of con-truction work on projects it licenses, and to make determina-on of the net investment in each. This net investment is ie basis of the price to be paid for company properties if ie government exercises its right of recapturing them when ie license has expired. It is the basis of any regulation f rates or of security issues which the government may ndertake in States not providing regulation of their own.

Last winter the Senate Interstate and Foreign Com-ierce Committee discovered that the Power Commission ad never, in its ten years of existence, actually exercised ie power of determining net investment. It learned that ie accounting department of the commission had been so arved and crippled that it had never completed the work f auditing accounts on any project. Until last year the ommission had never been provided with a solicitor to ad-ise the accounting division on legal points involved in its ork. It was urged, then, that Cabinet members had not sufficient time left from their other duties properly to attend to the work of the Power Commission, so Congress created a new commission of five full-time members.

Meantime President Hoover nominated three of the new commissioners, but too late for the Senate to confirm them, and the "lame-duck" commission has continued in office through the summer and fall. Chief Accountant William V. King and Solicitor Charles A. Russell have proceeded with the accounting work and have prepared several cases for hearing and final determination of net investment. One of these is the case of the Clarion River Power Company and its Piney project in Pennsylvania. The company claimed a net investment of $11,032,816. Chief Accountant King recommended that $6,387,731 of this amount be rejected, contending that actual legitimate expenditure on the project was $4,645,085. Mr. King objected especially to certain items in the company's investment account, namely, $144 for neckties bought at Vantine's in New York, $4,000 spent for cigars and dinners at the grand opening of the Piney project, and other charges, including "unsupported items" totaling $1,121,942.67.

The Power Commission set a date early in November for hearing Mr. King's recommendations and the Clarion River Power Company's reply to them. The hearing has not been held, however. A few weeks after Attorney General Mitchell's opinion mentioning "serious doubts" as to the validity of the Power Act, the company went into the District of Columbia Supreme Court and asked that the Power Commission be enjoined from holding hearings or making any adjudication with reference to the net-investment claims of the company.

At first the Department of Justice announced that since the case was "only a minor one," the government's position would be left to the district attorney's office to present and no one would be detailed from the department to assist. But Attorney General Mitchell asked Solicitor Russell of the Power Commission to handle the government's case after he had been criticized and after the National Popular Government League had asked leave to intervene, presenting an imposing list of attorneys associated with it, on which appear such names as Judge George W. Woodruff of Pennsylvania, Felix Frankfurter of Harvard, and Frank P. Walsh of New York. The grave import of the coming test was recognized also by the State of Pennsylvania after Gifford Pinchot was elected governor, and its attorney general asked leave to intervene in behalf of the government.

After argument in the courts of the District of Columbia the case will probably be carried through to the United States Supreme Court. If the company finally wins, the Power Commission will be deprived of its major functions and will have little authority left except to determine where hydroelectric projects may be situated.

But even this function will be lost if the Appalachian Electric Power Company wins the fight it is now carrying on. The Appalachian controversy is an old one, originating long before Wilbur, Bonner, *et al.* took over the Power

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Commission. This company intends to build on a stream which is a non-navigable tributary of a navigable river and has contended for years that this location puts its project on a different footing. For two years it has refused to accept a regular license offered it by the Power Commission and has insisted that it be given instead a license prescribing only such conditions as shall protect navigation on the Kanawha River, to which the New River is tributary.

But in July of this year the Bonner-Wilbur-Hurley-Hyde Power Commission took the matter up again and had it referred to the Attorney General for an opinion as to whether they might issue the special sort of license the company wants, free from regulation of construction plans, of net investment, of securities, of rates. The question is particularly important in the case of the Appalachian Company, because under an interpretation of Virginia law it is exempt from regulation by the authorities of that State.

Mitchell replied to the Power Commissioners that they had full authority over non-navigable tributaries of navigable streams. An earlier opinion of his in the Cumberland Falls case had established that precedent. He held that the Appalachian Company "is prohibited from proceeding with the construction of its project until it shall have applied for and received a license under the provisions of this act." But Mitchell did not stop there. He went on to advance the theory that a broad interpretation of the Power Act "appears necessary in order to avoid serious questions regarding the constitutionality of this act." Accordingly he suggested that "every purpose within the power of Congress may be accomplished by issuance of a minor-part license."

This was a new idea in water-power regulation. The section of the Federal Water Power Act from which Mitchell obtained it reads as follows:

> In issuing licenses for a minor part only of a complete project, or for a complete project of not more than 200 horse-power capacity, the commission may, in its discretion, waive such conditions, provisions, and requirements of this act, except the license period of fifty years, as it may deem to be to the public interest to waive under the circumstances.

Mitchell said he thought this section ought to apply to the Appalachian Company's 80,000 horse-power project, since "the only interest which the United States has to protect, and for which it may be justified in issuing a license, is a very minor part of the complete project."

It took the big power companies of the country less than a week to grasp the possibilities of this opinion. Within a few days several of them had written to the Power Commission asking that they too be given "minor-part" licenses instead of regular ones, because their hydroelectric plants were only a minor part of the complete development of important streams. If their requests should be granted, some of the most important river systems in the country could be developed hydroelectrically free of all federal restriction.

At about the time Mitchell was writing his opinion, Solicitor Russell of the Power Commission was writing as follows, in answer to a similar contention raised before him:

> When Congress said that any applicant for the construction of a power plant on a non-navigable stream under certain conditions would be required to obtain a license under the provisions of this act, it meant the same character of a license to be issued for construction on a navigable stream, without any limitation, and such license should contain all the provisions required in a license on a navigable stream. To hold otherwise would result in questioning the jurisdiction of the commission over projects located on navigable streams. . . . A license means a license, not a piece of paper . . .

After the stir caused by the two opinions the Power Commission did nothing for some months about the Appalachia Company's request. The fact was disclosed, meanwhile, tha Stanford University, of which Wilbur is still president o leave of absence, has a considerable investment in securitie of the Appalachian Electric Power Company, as well as othe electric utilities. Wilbur denied that he had anything t do with the university's investments.

Finally, the week before Congress was to convene t confirm successors to Wilbur, Hyde, and Hurley, a meetin of the Power Commission was called to discuss the Appala chian application. Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montan protested to President Hoover against final action by retirin officials. Several other Senators quietly let their disapprova be known. Only Wilbur and Hyde were present when th meeting was held. The matter was debated at length, an in the end they announced that they had decided to let th courts pass on the issues involved. The power company wil start construction of its project without a license; the Powe Commissioners, if the successors of Wilbur, Hyde, and Hur ley see fit, will then ask an injunction to stop them. An Attorney General Mitchell, who is on record as in favo of interpreting the Power Act to let the company build with out regulation, will be responsible for the defense of regula tion in the courts!

All this contention and litigation may or may not hav been designed to divert attention from the Couzens bill scheduled for prompt consideration in Congress, which pro vides a system of power-company regulation in some respect more thorough and more far-reaching than present regula tion of railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission In any event, the power companies tried similar tactics onc before and won a Pyrrhic victory. They used all thei resources, some two and a half years ago, to have Senato Walsh's resolution for investigation of utility holding com panies and utility propaganda referred to the Federal Trad Commission. They were successful. And the Trade Com mission has done the most thorough, fair, and workman like job that Washington has seen in a long time. Wit its financial investigation only half complete, the Trad Commission has disclosed closer inter-company relationships more extensive methods of transferring profits from regu lated utility-company books to unregulated holding-company books, more sudden and unexplained appreciations in property book values than the Senate had ever suspected. The amount of appreciations, the basis for security issues but not for fixing rates, is now somewhere in the neighborhood of $400,000,000.

The Couzens bill, awaiting hearings before the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, of which Couzens is chairman, provides for regulation hereafter of all utility companies doing an interstate power business, of all holding companies furnishing and sending in interstate commerce information, advice, instruction, intelligence, or direction concerning the generation, distribution, transmission, or sale of power, and of all holding companies supplying these services to any company which sells, distributes, or

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enerates power in interstate commerce. It provides for egulation also of rates and security issues of these companies and continues the power of the commission to license ompanies desiring to build on government property or on reams important in interstate commerce.

The Couzens bill is part of a general movement for egulation of holding companies—railroad holding companies nd banking holding companies as well as the utilities. It as due to receive considerable support even before the lections with their verdict in behalf of stricter utility control. It is possible that the recent attacks upon existing regulation will quicken interest in it and hasten its enactment. But it will not be enacted without a battle.

Whatever the outcome, the future of regulation rests with the men who will compose the new Federal Power Commission and the men they select to work under them in legal, engineering, and accounting departments. As this is being written the Senate is considering President Hoover's selections for the commission, an event as significant as any in the winter's many-sided power struggle.

Slavery and Forced Labor

By RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL

THE United States was one of the last of the great Powers to stamp out the institution of slavery. And it is natural that most Americans should believe hat slavery came to an end for all time and for all peoples with Lincoln's famous Emancipation Proclamation of 1863. Recent revelations in various parts of the world show, however, that slavery still exists, either in direct or indirect form, in many countries. It is estimated that there are at least 3,000,000 slaves in the world today. Several years ago a commission of the League of Nations reported that slave-trading or similar acts was carried on in nineteen political areas, such as Abyssinia, Algeria, China, Egypt, Eritrea, the Sahara, and the Sudan. It declared that the slave trade was practiced openly in several Mohammedan states in Asia and in particular in the Arabian Peninsula. The Hashimite government receives dues or taxes upon slaves sold in the market; and Negroes from the African continent are imported and sold as slaves in Arabia. Many of the slaves in the Hejaz are young girls from the Orient who originally came to the kingdom upon a pilgrimage to Mecca. In 1924 one of the native kings of India, His Highness the Maharajah of Nepal, made a speech stating that there were nearly 52,000 slaves and 16,000 slave owners in his kingdom. He declared that a traffic was in existence which broke up families and caused suffering. In this speech he announced his intention of abolishing the institution outright. He kept his word.

Until recently, at least, slavery was one of the most important institutions in the feudal kingdom of Abyssinia, one of the few "independent" spots in Africa. Here the slave trade and slave raiding have also flourished. A newspaper quotes one visitor to Abyssinia as having seen a "convoy of 10,000 slaves marching toward the great slave market of Jimma; and in the course of a single day's march along the trail he counted the dead and dying bodies of more than fifty captives who had dropped by the roadside." As a result of pressure from the League of Nations, the king of Abyssinia has taken steps to remedy the situation. In 1923 and 1924 he passed edicts forbidding the trade in slaves and declaring that slaves could obtain their freedom seven years after the death of their master. But the institution has been so long established among various tribes in the country that the task of suppressing both slavery and the slave traffic is about as difficult as the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment in the United States. That the slave traffic still exists in hideous form in many parts of the Near East has recently been demonstrated in a series of twenty articles in the Paris *Matin*. Slavery also exists in the western parts of China, and according to a statement of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the House of Lords, it is even possible to buy slaves in the cities of eastern China. His statement is supported by a report of a child-labor commission appointed by the Executive Council of the Foreign Settlements of Shanghai, which states that young girls in Shanghai are bought and sold for employment as domestic servants, despite Chinese legislation making such a practice illegal. Even from South America news occasionally trickles out to the effect that slave raiding is common among certain tribes. In 1912 an international sensation was caused by the revelation of conditions of slavery upon Putumayo rubber plantations in Peru belonging to certain foreign interests. And only a few years ago a statement was made at a conference at Montevideo that certain tribes living in the remote parts of Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia still carry on the slave trade, "killing the protectors of families and then carrying the women off to sell to white people who own large plantations in these interior regions. This slave trade is encouraged by the whites, who offer large rewards."

For the most part, slavery in outright form exists only in these border regions of the world, so far removed from the centers of Western civilization that it is difficult if not impossible to obtain full particulars in regard to the institution. There are, however, a number of practices, hovering between complete freedom of contract and abject slavery, which constitute one form or another of involuntary servitude. Among such practices are peonage and compulsory, or indentured, labor.

Under the system of peonage which exists in countries in Latin America and elsewhere, the debtor agrees to work for the creditor until his labor is considered equivalent to the debt which he owes. It often happens that the creditor schemes to increase the indebtedness of the debtor so that the latter remains bound for an indefinite period. It is charged that despite legislation to the contrary peonage still exists in the Philippines. Contract labor is even more common than peonage. Although the importation of contract labor is forbidden in the United States, the system is common throughout Africa and other parts of the world where European industrial enterprise is carried on upon a large scale and where the labor supply is recruited from primi-

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tive peoples. Thus the estates of Malaysia rely to a large degree upon imported or contract labor. The sugar plantations of Cuba and of Santo Domingo are worked, as far as manual laborers are concerned, largely by black men imported from Haiti and Jamaica.

Not long ago certain malpractices were revealed in the recruiting of Chinese coolies in the Dutch East Indies and in Singapore. On inaccessible parts of the island of Sumatra will be found a large number of *panglongs,* or small wood-cutting establishments which make planks, firewood, or charcoal. The owners of these establishments have secured their labor among Chinese at Singapore, and according to reports these laborers have lived in a "veritable reign of terror." Working conditions on these *panglongs* have been bad; in some cases the working day has been as long as fourteen or sixteen hours. The *panglong* owners have recruited their workers from houses of ill fame in Singapore, known as *kedehnasi,* where Chinese out of work are boarded and lodged. These coolies have paid for their board when they found work, "that is, when they are sold to an employer. The employers, in fact, considered that they bought their workers . . . and the coolie lodging-house keepers were known as man-dealers." These "man-dealers" received a sum from the employer, and sometimes an advance was made on the wages promised to the coolie to pay the "man-dealer" for supplying the coolie with board and lodging. The coolie was then sent off to the *panglong* heavily in debt. And to keep him in debt the *panglong* owner would force him to buy clothing, mosquito net, and other articles at high prices. The Dutch government has endeavored to bring an end to these conditions and an improvement has already been made.

The system of indentured labor is probably as effectively organized in Africa as in any other continent. The gold mines of Johannesburg, the diamond mines of Kimberley, the copper mines of the Belgian Congo, various types of European plantations throughout the continent as a whole—including Mr. Firestone's rubber plantations in Liberia—all require a larger labor supply than can be secured in the immediate vicinity.

The Chamber of Mines of South Africa maintains two recruiting organizations—the Witwatersrand Native Labor Association, which recruits labor in Portuguese East Africa with the consent of the Portuguese government, and the Native Recruiting Corporation, which recruits labor in South Africa proper. Farther north, labor for the mines of the Belgian Congo is recruited by a number of labor bureaus, or *bourses de travail.* An English concern, Robert Williams and Company, assists in providing laborers for the copper mines at Elizabethville. These laborers it recruits, with the permission of the British government, from Northern Rhodesia. The government of Liberia maintains a labor bureau. Various efforts to establish bureaus in other parts of Africa have also been made.

I have personally investigated on the spot the workings of four of these vast recruiting agencies, and it may be of interest to describe the process whereby native labor is actually secured. I shall take as the first illustration the Native Recruiting Corporation of South Africa. This corporation, which is owned by the Chamber of Mines, is responsible for keeping the Johannesburg mines stocked with a given supply of labor. The corporation has divided part of the Union of South Africa into districts, each in charge of a European labor agent. Usually this agent is also a trader who keeps a store which caters to native trade. It is the object of the agent to induce natives to sign a contract to leave their homes and work in the Johannesburg mines. The natives who are the object of his solicitations are not "civilized." Most of them are illiterate and speak only a native language. They are garbed in the most elemental clothing, usually a blanket. They live a polygamous existence in native kraals or huts, and their chief property is cattle and wives. The native population is wholly different from the working classes of the East Side of New York or of Passaic, New Jersey. It is a population accustomed to a pastoral and patriarchal existence. Left to themselves the natives of Africa would not leave their homes, where their wants are simple and easily supplied, to journey several hundred miles to work in an underground mine at arduous and strange labor for ten hours a day.

Therefore if the mines of South Africa are to be operated at full capacity the managers must use strenuous efforts to induce natives to become wage-earners. They do not rely upon voluntary or casual labor, they rely upon the indenture system. The Native Recruiting Corporation pays the labor agent $10 for each "boy" recruited. The labor agent is usually assisted by a native "runner" who receives a small fee for each recruit. The labor agent attempts to induce "boys" to sign contracts usually running for a term of six months. Having signed such a contract a native comes before a government official who questions him to determine whether he really understands the nature of the contract. Each "boy" is then given a medical examination, and if he passes it, he is given rations and blankets and herded on to a labor train bound for Johannesburg. In practically every case these "boys" leave their families behind. At Johannesburg the natives are debarked at a labor depot, where they are thoroughly fumigated and examined. Their fingerprints are taken and they then are marched off to the mine that has sent in a labor requisition. Once at the mines, the "boys" spend their idle time in labor compounds, which resemble army barracks. While they are frequently allowed to go into the city they must always carry a pass, and it is a criminal offense to desert. If they attempt to escape they can usually be tracked down by means of fingerprint identification, by the pass system, and by an efficient police system. The cost of this system of recruiting, which sometimes runs as high as $40 a man, is prorated among the employers. In theory each native is at liberty to sign a contract for the mines or to remain at home. Nevertheless, despite legislation to the contrary, the charge is frequently made that labor agents bring various means of pressure upon the natives to induce them to sign up. Agents may make loans of money to natives; when the native finds it impossible to pay back the loan he is virtually forced to sign a labor contract. Moreover, the various European governments have imposed upon the native population taxes which as a rule can be paid only in cash. Although some natives are able to grow and sell produce from their own farms, perhaps the majority of natives in many African territories can obtain money to pay their taxes only by entering European employment. In South Africa the dependence of the native upon European industry is intensified because the European has monopolized 90 per cent of the land.

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A somewhat similar labor system has prevailed in the Belgian Congo. In the Katanga provinces are found some of the richest copper mines of the world—mines owned by the famous Union Minière. These mines rely for man power upon labor bureaus modeled after those in South Africa. Fifty recruiters from the *bourse de travail* of Katanga scour vast areas of the Congo looking for workers. The natives of the Congo are more primitive than the natives of South Africa, and to entice them into employment the labor recruiter hands out to them such articles as a jersey sweater or shorts. There is no legislation in the Belgian Congo which obliges a native to work for a private employer. But until recently at least the government has been so anxious to aid private employers that it has instructed government administrators to "intervene" in labor recruiting, that is, to give assistance to the recruiters from the *bourse de travail*. Government officials have frequently gone into villages with these recruiters and asked the local chief to turn over a certain number of men. The word of the chief is law as far as a native is concerned, and as the position and advancement of the chief depend upon the grace of the administrator, the chief invariably provides the men. It is fiction to say that they go "voluntarily." According to recent reports, this system of government intervention in recruiting still exists in the Portuguese colonies; while the export of labor from Angola to the islands of Saint Thomas and Principe has been resumed.*

Although European enterprises in many parts of Africa and other undeveloped areas have thus felt obliged to rely upon indentured labor, many employers have come to look upon the system with disfavor. The expense of recruited and indentured labor is much greater than the expense of wholly voluntary labor. Indentured labor, held at work by the fear of imprisonment, is usually inefficient; and this is especially so when the native has been tricked into employment. Finally, the mortality among recruited and indentured labor has been high. Enlightened employers in the backward regions now take every precaution to feed and house their natives properly. But when these natives are snatched out of primitive conditions and suddenly transplanted, often against their will and without their families, into an artificial European industrial center, they succumb easily to disease. Despite every precaution of the employer, they become susceptible to epidemics and especially to tuberculosis. Although the normal death-rate in a European community is 15 per 1,000 or less, the native death-rate in many industrial centers in Africa is often 80 to 200 per 1,000. The death-rate has been even higher in railway construction camps. When the native becomes gradually adjusted to industrial employment, the rate declines. Thus in the South African mines the death-rate is only about 9 per 1,000—a remarkably low figure.

Enlightened employers and governments now state that some restrictions upon excessive labor recruiting must be imposed if the native population is not to be exterminated and if the continent of Africa is to be economically developed to its fullest capacity. The government of the Belgian Congo has put this belief into effect by issuing orders that not more than 10 per cent of the adult men of a village should be taken away at a time to European labor centers. A year or so ago the Hilton Young Commission reported in regard to British East Africa that the number of natives leaving their homes should be limited "so that the number of adult males absent at any time is not so great as to endanger the proper development of native social life and political institutions." A number of governments in Africa have deliberately discouraged the development of large-scale European plantations in favor of a native-farm system. Under the latter system the native works his own land and lives with his own family. He produces food for his family and crops for export purposes. Under the native-farm system the Gold Coast has become one of the richest producers of cocoa in the world, while Uganda has become an important cotton center.

For humanitarian and farsighted economic reasons the League of Nations has interested itself in the question of slavery and forced labor. In September, 1926, the League drew up a slavery convention which provides for the suppression of the slave trade and for the complete abolition of slavery "as soon as possible." The convention recognizes that forced labor may have grave consequences and therefore provides that forced labor for private purposes should be ended "as soon as possible." The United States has now ratified this convention. Despite the vagueness of the League convention several governments in the border regions have taken steps under League stimulus to put an end to slavery.

During the past few years the International Labor Organization, which is an international body of governments, employers, and employees, has undertaken to study the whole question of forced labor in much more detail than was possible for the League. For this purpose it appointed a committee of experts, which included Professor Chamberlain of Columbia University. In 1929 this committee published a report which shows in what countries of the world forced labor still exists; and it passed resolutions asking that forced labor for private purposes should immediately come to an end. In June, 1929, the whole question of native labor was placed on the agenda of the annual International Labor Conference at Geneva. This body discussed a detailed questionnaire and decided that the question of forced labor should be placed on the agenda of the next conference. This conference was held in June, 1930, at Geneva. As a result of its efforts a convention was drawn up and signed which provides for the suppression of forced labor within the shortest possible period. Forced labor may, however, be used during a transitional period for public purposes and as an exceptional measure. Five years after the coming into force of this convention the governing body of the International Labor Office will consider the possibility of the suppression of forced labor in all its forms immediately. Forced labor for the benefit of private employers must, according to this convention, come to an end at once.

The discussion of the question of forced labor at the meetings of the International Labor Organization has been the subject of critical comment. The French government, while it issued a decree this August concerning forced labor, has declined to ratify the convention. The hostility of certain groups and certain nations toward this international effort to abolish compulsion shows that much ground must yet be covered before the goal of human liberty is reached.

* Charges that forced labor in Liberia exists on a large scale have been recently investigated by an international commission, the report of which should soon be published.

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New Dimensions in the Talkies

By ALEXANDER BAKSHY

THE seeming similarity of the talking picture and the stage in the material they both use and the dramatic effects they produce has been responsible for the present confusion of thought regarding the true province of the movies. It is not merely that the prevalent copying of the stage technique reduces the movies to the position of a reproducing rather than a creative medium. The far more important fact is that the movies have not learned yet where exactly they stand in relation to the stage; what territory, if any, in the realm of representations in sight and sound they are entitled to share with the stage, and what territory they hold exclusively for their own use.

In one respect both the stage and the movies are undeniably alike. What they create is a dramatic spectacle before an audience, and there are only two principal forms in which such a spectacle can be created. The history of the theater teaches us that there can be the spectacle of the illusionist kind, which is based entirely on the effect of illusion produced by the appropriate acting and setting (as in modern realistic plays). Then, there can also be the spectacle of the frankly artificial and conventional kind (as in most musical plays), where the nature of the theatrical presentation as such is the basis of the dramatic form. The two forms are fundamentally opposed to each other. The illusionist stage strives to make the audience feel as if by some miracle it were watching, not a theatrical performance, but the actual life of a group of people in their natural surroundings. On the contrary, the conventional stage lays particular stress on those elements of acting and setting that reveal most strikingly the fact that the characters are merely actors performing on a stage in front of an audience. Again, the world of an illusionist play is separated from the world of the audience by an impassable gulf. No contact exists between the actor and the spectator. They are on two different planes. But when the play is frankly a stage performance, its very form depends on the presence of the spectator and the continuous contact maintained between him and the actor. It is because of this difference that the incongruous conduct of characters in a musical play seems in keeping with the style of the performance, whereas similar antics in a realistic play strike the audience as grotesquely absurd and an offense against good taste.

Although it is still hardly recognized, there is a division in the motion picture similar to that existing in the theater. The illusionist film and the non-illusionist or conventional film represent two distinct forms of cinematic art. And whether the aim be illusion or conventional presentation, it is essential that the artist realize the difference between the effect of illusion on the stage and the effect of illusion on the screen, as well as the difference between the specific conventions characteristic of the theatrical and of the cinematic performance.

A single example will illustrate this point. To stress a particular episode and to bring it nearer to the audience so that it may be seen better, the characters on the stage usually take a position close to the footlights. In plays in which illusion is of no importance at all, as in musical comedies and revues, the same desire for visible emphasis leads to the use of a still more artificial convention, the spotlight. Now, the screen has no footlights, nor can it use a spotlight very effectively. When it has to emphasize a scene or a detail it resorts to the close-up. But unlike the front-stage position of actors this device does not destroy illusion. The characters shown in a close-up remain an integral part of the world of the film. And it is easy to see why. Instead of disturbing the natural movements of the characters as the stage must, the motion picture only "disturbs" the spectator. It is he who is brought nearer to the scene of action, although he never actually leaves his chair. With the help of the ubiquitous camera which acts as his proxy, he is able to observe the events from a variety of vantage-points. What he sees retains the effect of illusion, but it is an illusion obtained in continuous movement from a number of viewpoints, and not from a single fixed point as in the theater.

The moral of this illustration is brief. The stage illusion and the film illusion are two distinct things, and so are the stage convention and the film convention; what is more, in no possible combination do the four mix. However, the elimination of "mixing" still leaves the problem of the true realization on the screen of the illusionist and the non-illusionist principles in their pure cinematic forms.

One of the curious effects produced by an illusionist talkie patterned after the stage is the discrepancy in the sensations received by the eye and the ear. Figuratively speaking, the spectator finds himself in the peculiar position of having his eyes forced to rove over all the different objects and places represented in the picture, whereas his ears are bound to his chair. For a sensitive person the position is decidedly uncomfortable. There is no reason why the spectator should be subjected to such inconsiderate treatment; why his ears should not be as free in surveying the world of sound as his eyes are in surveying the world of sight. As the selective method of the silent movie is the function of the camera, so the selective treatment of sound is the function of the microphone. The cinematic illusion of life is the sum total of innumerable impressions, which are so deftly, though freely, arranged that a group of consecutive words and images can be welded into a palpable reality, although this may exist only on the screen.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this power of the motion picture to create an illusion of reality without really reproducing something that has an actual existence. The reference here is not to so-called film tricks, but to the routine practice of every film director. In the silent pictures the events and even the characters we see on the screen are often purely imaginary. Shots made in different parts of the world for different purposes are frequently joined in a film one after another and give the impression of a single and naturally unfolding event. For instance, now that Byrd's Antarctic expedition has come home with miles of celluloid record, any Hollywood studio could stage a

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dozen different expeditions to the South Pole, each with a different story and a different set of characters, that would all look as authentic as Byrd's own picture. And it is quite likely that a great deal of that material will yet be used in Hollywood-made pictures which will show characters who have never been farther South than the Panama Canal having innumerable adventures with Antarctic whales, seals, or penguins. Similarly, a character looking out of the same hotel window will see the streets of Paris, or of New York, Shanghai, or Sydney by the simple process of cutting into the film whatever views may be required by the story. Now with the advent of sound the creative artist in the cinema will extend yet further his power over material. He will pick out his elements of sound and speech from a number of sources, sometimes completely dissimilar and independent, and will bring them together in simultaneous or sequential order to produce the desired effect on the audience. Suggestions of such free treatment of sound are to be found in a few American pictures, notably in "Alibi," "Applause," "The Love Parade," and "All Quiet on the Western Front." But the acknowledged masters of this technique of assembling are the Russians, and foremost among them is Sergei Eisenstein. His elaborate theory of "montage," as the Russians call assembling or "editing" of the film material, seems to be capable of a natural extension to include the selecting and grouping of auditory material that will act as stimuli for certain cumulative psycho-physiological reactions.

The direction in which further progress is likely to continue in the illusionist talkies is therefore fairly definitely marked. The same cannot as yet be said of the conventional movie, for this form is still embryonic. When a spectator watches a musical comedy or a vaudeville act he is not disturbed by the unreality of the acting and setting he sees on the stage. What interests and delights him most is the quality of the performance. There is a kind of tacit understanding between the actor and the spectator that the business of the one is to act, to display his skill as a performer, and the business of the other is to watch and appreciate whatever is presented to him. This understanding is possible because the actor and the spectator are in the same hall facing one another as physical entities. There exists between them a unity of space which the history of the theater tells us has always been emphasized by the architecture of the stage whenever the dramatic form in vogue implied contact with the audience.

The same relationship between the audience and the picture characterizes the conventional film. The aesthetic aim is not illusion but performance, meaning not the barring of illusion but only its subordination to the artist's presentation of his material; and by the very nature of this aim its realization presupposes an intimate physical contact between the performer and the audience. The unity of space required is not to be understood in the sense that the events pictured in the film must appear as if they were taking place in the same building as the demonstration of the film. Although such an effect is not impossible—a recent comic cartoon showed a dog on the screen conducting a real orchestra in the pit before the screen—in this form it is neither important nor necessary. The film's command over space and time is one of its priceless possessions, and its abandonment would deprive cinematic art of its main advantage over the stage.

Fortunately there is another means of establishing a direct contact between the audience and the picture. The physical link is provided by that familiar but usually inconspicuous member of the cinematic performance, the bearer of images, the screen itself. In the illusionist film it is merely an inert surface playing no part in molding the form of the picture. In the film of convention it may become an active medium proclaiming its existence through the position occupied by the image on its surface. The image, with the spatial relations within it, becomes bound to the screen and thereby to the physical unit of space in which it is being seen by the audience.

An approach to this conventional art of the film is seen in the modern sound cartoons, among which the "Silly Symphony" and the "Micky Mouse" series are artistic achievements of surpassing excellence. But they are no more than an approach. For ordinary, that is, natural, photographic images the conventional form demands a different treatment. Instead of a single image the screen may carry a continuously changing pattern of several interrelated images. A picture could, for instance, open with an image creeping slowly from the bottom corner of the screen, then leaping to the top corner, then moving to the center and swelling to the limits of the screen, when it would fade out and give place to groups of images flitting across the screen now in one direction, now in another, or spacing themselves in a pattern of images placed side by side. Separated events, persons, or places may be shown simultaneously. Technically this can be best accomplished by the use of the entire surface of the screen, which with the cameras and projectors in use today still remains an unrealized ideal. But the enlarged projection provided by the magnascope and the "wide film" already supplies the basis for this technical reform.

As compared with the prevalent single-image film, the multiple method presents several important advantages. Its ability to give the image a lateral movement on the screen practically provides the film with a new dimension. The images can now be assembled not only in time, but in space. Thanks to this new power the simultaneous parallel strands of images restore to the film the visual continuity of its early days, which has been destroyed by the intermittent assembling inevitable in the single-strand film. From the dramatic standpoint, too, the force of contrast and emphasis obtainable with the simultaneous juxtaposition of a number of images is equally beyond anything possible in the ordinary film. Finally, in relation to the problem of sound, the advantages of the multiple method are exceptionally great. It solves the problem of conventional singing and dancing, not by inept copying of the conventions of the stage, but by establishing a purely cinematic convention of a performance on the screen. For the screen itself, and not the stage boards, becomes the meeting place of images, and no considerations of realistic truth can govern such assembling of singing or dancing "shots" together with "shots" of the more natural dialogue. Lastly, and this is perhaps its most important contribution, the method of simultaneously presenting several "shots" or images diversifies and expands the means of rhythmic organization of sounds and images to a degree hitherto unknown to the screen. So great, indeed, are the possibilities of this form of cinematic art that it is to be hoped Hollywood will have the imagination and daring to tolerate such originality in its more gifted directors.

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Fighting Unemployment
III. Stabilization*

By HENRY RAYMOND MUSSEY

THE only thing to do with unemployment is to abolish it. The only way to abolish it is to stabilize employment. An unemployment program, therefore, must lead up to stabilization as its ultimate goal, and must include every possible immediate step toward that goal. Labor exchanges and insurance should be regarded as means to the steady and productive functioning of industry, and should be handled with that end in view. But there are other tasks of organization and direction that industry itself must perform if the industrial machine is to run steadily; and the Western World today faces a grave question in consequence: Can those tasks be performed adequately without such a centralized control of industry, and maybe of consumers' choices themselves, as exists at present nowhere outside of Soviet Russia? We of the West face the problem of reconciling individual freedom as we have developed it with industrial stability as we have not yet developed it.

Unemployment as we know it today falls into four chief classes: seasonal, casual, technological, and cyclical. Unfortunately we have no figures that really show their comparative importance. All are important enough. No two demand exactly the same treatment. But in connection with all alike, as Feldman points out in his notable book "The Regularization of Employment," we find one effective cause of unemployment, namely, the indifference of management. As Feldman shows, the individual concern, under favorable conditions, even with our existing industrial organization can accomplish vastly more than has commonly been supposed in doing away with unemployment, particularly of the seasonal, casual, and technological type. In fact, the distinctive American contribution to the problem of preventing unemployment has consisted largely in showing what the individual employer can actually accomplish when he definitely accepts the regularization of employment as one of the major ends of management.

In the seasonal field I will take only two well-known examples—the Dennison Manufacturing Company and Hills Brothers, packers of Dromedary Dates, both carrying on business of a highly seasonal character. They have been able, in the one case by an advanced sales technique and the development of a variety of products, and in the other by a fundamental change in technical equipment, to reduce their operations to almost entire regularity and to cut down unemployment among their employees almost to nothing. The task of regularization is extremely hard to accomplish in seasonal trades, like some parts of the building industry, whose actual operation depends directly on the weather, and in style-bound trades, like millinery and clothing, where it seems well-nigh impossible to produce except in immediate response to the instant style demands. We need to give the less advanced concerns and the more backward industries an effective motive for trying experiments along the lines that the more advanced ones have followed on their own initiative. Such a motive might possibly be found in a discriminating tax rising with irregularity of operation. Sir William Beveridge in his great book suggests two specific possibilities of this kind, and a correspondent in *The Nation* of December 17 put forward the interesting suggestion of a tax on labor turnover, a possibility well worth exploring.

The situation is different in casual unemployment, and the case against management is distinctly stronger than in the seasonal trades. Work on the docks of a great seaport affords the classic illustration. Work at any one dock is highly irregular. All the docks together, operated separately, accordingly attract a body of labor much larger than they can keep fully occupied, and there is therefore chronic underemployment among dockers. Experience has shown that it is possible to overcome this condition by organizing the labor market of all the docks of a port as a unit. Yet men for the most part are still hired in the old helter-skelter fashion because it is easy to get labor so. Casual unemployment, or underemployment, then, is susceptible to attack through the machinery of labor exchanges, provided employers are required to meet their needs exclusively through the exchanges. But the employers in such industries show little capacity or inclination to bring about any organization. We ought to make a vigorous frontal attack by organizing public labor exchanges and requiring employers to get their labor through these agencies.

Technological unemployment, which looms so large in present-day thinking, is being attacked by some firms which, before introducing a new machine, for example, require their staff to plan not only for the running of the machine, but for the employment elsewhere of the men that it displaces. However, the problem caused by technical progress in making large numbers of men superfluous where they have been employed cannot be solved by individual action alone. There must be an organization that will bring such men promptly into touch with the new industrial opportunities that are constantly being created in other lines, and that will give them the retraining required to meet the new opportunities. We thus come back to a comprehensive system of labor exchanges and insurance intelligently administered with a view not to freezing industry in its existing mold, but to bringing it about that the constantly accelerating technical changes shall bring a minimum of loss to the workers involved. This result will not be accomplished by private industry in pursuit of profits alone, for the quickest way to profit lies in the ruthless adoption of technical and organizational improvements, leaving labor to look out for itself as best it may. The history of our steel industry is a clear enough illustration of this policy and its results. Under the conditions now confronting us the cost of manufacturing millionaires by this method is heavier than we can afford to pay.

* The last of a series of three articles.—EDITOR THE NATION.

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We have to remember, however, that stabilization ould be highly undesirable if it involved the stereotyping industry. We want progress in methods and organiza- n, which means that men who have learned a certain trade a certain job will be superseded by machines, and that dustries will move from one place to another. It is desir- le to have a rational growth of wants, which means that me industries will die and others will spring up; but there ould be an immense social gain if the enormous apparatus advertising could be reduced to a fraction of its present ollen proportions. In any dynamic society, however, even the present feverish pace of change were somewhat moder- ed, there is bound to be displacement of labor, but an telligent use of labor exchanges and insurance could bring out a stabilization of employment and income for the orker without a halting of progress.

When we turn to unemployment caused by the cyclical ictuations of industry, however, we enter a field where we al with forces less understood and therefore less manage- le. If industry the world over shrinks sharply, as it has ne during the past year, plainly no organization of the bor market, however efficient, can prevent unemployment. idustry in the United States today is estimated to be oper- ing at 30 per cent below its level of a year ago. There is und to be a vast number of men out of work because there e not jobs enough to go around. To prevent this kind of nemployment we have got to stabilize industry itself, and this respect we have thus far made slight progress.

We are reasonably sure, however, that the credit policies central banks exercise a distinct influence in stimulating repressing business activities. We are gradually building a body of knowledge on which the banks can act. The ederal Reserve System, acting in conjunction with the ntral banks of other countries, even today can do much lessen the extremes of business fluctuation, though it can- ot of itself pull business out of the doldrums, as its present elplessness shows. None the less, it ought to be held to s full responsibility and pilloried for its weakness in failing check speculative madness like that of 1929, with the sulting industrial boom and collapse.

Instead of stabilizing industry, some students in late ars have grown enthusiastic over the possible use of public orks to stabilize employment. Their hopes are greatly xaggerated. The notion that crises can be prevented by hav- ig an immense reserve of public works to throw into the reach whenever business falters is, I believe, wholly un- und, and the most that can be done by this means is to old back during periods of good times certain public im- rovements not of immediate and pressing importance, with ne idea of inaugurating them promptly when bad times nreaten. Such action would involve the authorization of ond issues for public works long in advance of their actual nception, and the drawing up of programs of a compre- ensive kind extending over a considerable period of years. omething, perhaps, can be accomplished by this method, but ne possibilities of any such plan are extremely limited.

There remains the fundamental task of stabilizing the reat industries themselves. From any rational point of iew, why should the textile mills and the shoe factories f the United States be driven to capacity one year only stand idle a quarter of the time the next? Given a cer- ain population, we can draw up a budget of food, clothing, shelter, and other necessaries for them. That budget will not vary greatly from one year to the next. Why then should not the fundamental industries run regularly, leaving the luxury trades to bear the brunt of irregularity? The answer is, in part, at least, that the immense variety of goods at disposal of the modern community has brought it about that there are few real necessaries any longer. Shoes, for example, are no longer shoes; they are a hundred dif- ferent patterns of shoes that may go out of style overnight and be discarded. There is no such thing as food; there are thousands of food articles whose consumption goes up and down with every change of income and of taste. If we are to keep this bewildering range of choice in respect to all kinds of goods, and are to change our choices overnight, as we have learned to do, it is hard to see how we are to stabilize the industries that produce to meet our tastes.

We need also a far-reaching plan of production if industry is to be steadied. We think of Russia and its Gosplan, and a conservative economist has recently put for- ward a proposal that American industry work out a ten- year production plan with a view to stabilizing industry. Such a proposal, however, in a society of highly developed individual economic freedom like ours encounters difficulties that do not exist in Russia. Russia's industrial dictators have the power to determine what people can get by deter- mining what shall be produced. They can budget consump- tion requirements because they have the power to limit con- sumers' choices to what they choose to produce. Will we submit to any such limitation? And if we will, how are millions of independent producers to be induced or com- pelled to act in accordance with a unified plan? Yet even in the United States, under a ruthlessly competitive industrial system, business men have developed methods of cooperation in the face of common needs and dangers. While there is as yet little beyond vague suggestion of something resembling a national economic council, it is not inconceivable that our necessities may lead to the working out of a more or less rational plan of ordered growth, into which indi- vidual enterprises may fit themselves as a matter of self- preservation.

Organization will have to reach out beyond national boundaries, because the production and exchange of goods have become in so large a degree international. The Western countries have developed national central-banking machinery for the control of credit, and such machinery is being used, with an increasing degree of cooperation among central banks, for the purposes of financial stabilization. Is it impossible that a similar approach to industrial stabilization may yet be attempted? In any case, just as is true of the central banks, the organization cannot depend on private profits to make it go. It is no less clear that the successful working of any such organization would mean a great change in our present distribution of income, which contains in itself the pregnant seed of industrial disorder. Not until we can bring both economic and political life into a state of national and international order in place of our present competitive anarchy, can we hope entirely to abolish unemployment. Our capitalistic society today faces the question whether it is capable of bringing such order into our life. If not, then, to quote Mr. Thomas L. Chadbourne, "the people who are suffering from it will challenge our system just as in- evitably as the earth goes around the sun."

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In the Driftway

THERE are two kinds of people in the world—those who write and sell advertising and those who don't. And though the Drifter cannot always praise their handiwork as he finds it displayed in the blank spaces of the world, he counts his advertising friends among the most refreshing and amusing of all people. Their attitude toward life is sunny and uncomplicated, especially if they are good copy writers. They have a faith, at least in that new pill they are putting over, that is touching in a world of little faith. Most of them, it is true, make the concession of laughing a little at themselves and at "the game." But it is only a concession, for the advertising man knows that he will get even you in the end.

* * * * *

AND then there is the jargon of advertising. It changes and grows like any language, and each year some new phrase is king. This year the phrase is "establish obsolescence." In English it means that advertising is now in a conspiracy with the manufacturers to put across a little scheme that the latter have been working at for a long time. In the days of our grandfathers things were supposed to last for a long time. But it is obvious to anyone that if products lasted a lifetime the stream of buying and selling would be interrupted, purchasing power would be thwarted, and the new economy would be upset. Therefore, in the first place, don't make things that will last too long—enter the manufacturers with that weaker thread, those narrower seams, those terrible shoelaces, that saltless salt, and that silkless silk good housewives have been complaining about. In the second place, "establish obsolescence" by advertising. Nobody wants to be old-fashioned. Moreover, nobody can resist novelty. If he can, he ought to be deported before he drags down the standard of living. Make him buy a new set of furniture once a year instead of once in a generation.

* * * * *

SO it goes, on and on. The Drifter learned many things: How one firm, making an attempt (which was abandoned) to invent a new disease for a new medicine, lighted upon "sensitive teeth." "Why," asks one beautiful young lady of another beautiful young lady in a snappy layout for a full-page spread, "does ice cream hurt my teeth?" As the Drifter recalls it, the answer had to do with a new little germ or some other agency whose devastating work could be offset, needless to say, only by the preparation named in the large letters at the bottom of the layout. . . . A product cannot be sold for a dollar unless its actual manufacture costs ten cents or less. Ninety cents must go for advertising and distribution. . . . "Sorrow" advertising, which "pulled" in the gay days before the hard times came, does not go so well now. The people want "joy." This fact has been established by a firm which recently tried both kinds for three weeks in a number of cities. . . . It is fashionable for high society ladies who pose for Pond's or let their bedrooms pose for Simmons to give the proceeds to charity—though they don't all do it. Alice Longworth, when asked to what charity her check should be sent, gave the Longworth address. She thought charity should begin at home. . . . There was probably one person who was neither shocked nor displeased by the Lindsey-Manning spectacle in the Cathedral of S John the Divine. No living public-relations counsel cou be anything but pleased at the ensuing Monday mornir front-page headlines.

* * * * *

CERTAINLY the ways of advertising are strange an fascinating, but the Drifter can hardly decide wh adjective should be applied to the "Holiday Wish" of th manufacturer of a certain remedy for indigestion. It widely displayed and it goes about as follows: "Our Holida Wish is that neither you nor your family may be afflicte with acute indigestion—but [in smaller type] you'd bett be prepared with a bottle of ———." THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Mishandling Facts

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There ought to be a law to prohibit the mishandlin of known facts that occurs much too frequently on the editoria pages of metropolitan dailies. The New York *Times* of Decem ber 10 offers a typical performance. On the preceding da President Hoover issued his celebrated "china-shop statement charging members of Congress with "playing politics with huma misery" and declaring that any increase in appropriations beyon the sums recommended by him would force an increase in taxes By the crude device of adding all the figures contained in pendin appropriation bills he was able to produce the intimidating tota of $4,500,000,000—although even a *Times* editorial write should know that such totals are meaningless, since only a fraction of the bills have any chance of passage. When Mr Hoover first resorted to this disingenuous trick—at the las session—it was promptly exposed by Senator Glass, with th result that the President virtually apologized the next day.

But the *Times* editorial writer, swallowing the whol works, hook, line, and sinker, commended the President fo "doing his duty in calling a halt," and explained that "th responsible leaders" of both parties were standing with th President for "moderate and prudent policies." What were the facts? It was obvious that the President's statement wa aimed particularly at the Senate proposal to grant $60,000,00 for drought relief. A few hours after the President's statement was issued—and many hours before the *Times* went to press— the Senate voted the $60,000,000. Instead of the "responsible leaders of both parties" standing with the President, Senator Robinson, the Democratic leader, joined with Senator McNary, the assistant Republican leader, in leading the fight for the measure, *and not a single vote was cast against it.*

My prohibition would apply also to news broadcasters, of whom H. V. Kaltenborn probably is the rankest and most consistent offender. I cite the instance when he alluded to the unsuccessful motion in the Senate to require Senator-elect James J. Davis of Pennsylvania to step aside until the Nye committee could complete its investigation of his campaign fund. Mr. Kaltenborn told the radio audience that such a motion might be justified if there was evidence of excessive expenditures, but that to keep a man out of his seat on "mere suspicion" or the surmise "that something improper might be discovered later" was an outrage. He added tastefully that Senator Nye had been "getting a little too loud-mouthed about his committee lately." Again, what were the facts?

In offering the motion Nye reported to the Senate that the total known to have been expended in behalf of the Davis-

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'own ticket in the Republican primary was well in excess $600,000, this being $215,000 in excess of the amount reported the committee in Davis's behalf, and that the committee's quest for further time to complete the inquiry was made cessary by the failure of Davis's own campaign managers make a complete report. Every word of this was a matter official record, and had been published in the news columns, ıen Mr. Kaltenborn broadcast his misleading and abusive nopsis. As a matter of fact, the Nye committee went ahead th its inquiry and within forty-eight hours had brought to 41,000 the total known to have been expended in behalf of e Davis-Brown ticket in the primary—with more than half e State yet to be heard from!

Washington, December 12 PAUL Y. ANDERSON

Concerning Mayor Rolph

O THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I read with strong disapproval your recent indorsement of James Rolph, Republican, for Governor of California)ecause of his marked liberal leanings" and because of your trong hope that he will see justice done Mooney and Billings."

It might interest you to know that Rolph's police force as responsible for Mooney's arrest, since Rolph was mayor the time. Rolph is more bitter in his denunciation of Mooney ıan Young has been and thinks that Mooney is where he elongs. As for your belief that Rolph is a liberal, I hasten) disillusion you by pointing out that Rolph didn't even men- on unemployment in his platform. And are you not acuainted with the record of Mr. Rolph's shipping company in elation to its seamen? Mr. Rolph, then, cannot be such a riend of labor as he professes to be.

Upton Sinclair, who was the Socialist candidate, came out, n the other hand, for the immediate and unconditional pardon f Mooney and Billings. He proposed to give prompt attention) the unemployment problem. I might also add that Sinclair for the repeal of California's criminal-syndicalist law.

Los Angeles, Cal., November 24 JOE ZAMERES

Mother Jones and Socialism

O THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your statement that the late Mother Jones was "unualifiedly averse to socialism" strikes me as very misleading. knew Mother Jones so intimately over a period of thirty ears that she at one time wanted me to write her biography. always regarded her as a Socialist.

When I first met her she was selling Robert Blatchford's ocialist book, "Merrie England," on her propaganda tours. he was a cofounder with J. A. Wayland of the Socialist veekly paper, the *Appeal to Reason,* and for years Wayland's ome in Girard, Kansas, was the nearest approach to anything hat she herself might regard as her home. It is true that she vas ever at war with Socialist Party officialdom (Victor Berger, Morris Hillquit, and the rest), but Eugene Debs was her lose friend and valiant admirer and she was intimately asso- iated with Professor George D. Herron (founder of the Rand chool), Gaylord Wilshire, and other prominent Socialists. I ıave repeatedly heard her affirm her Socialist faith and I have ıever known of her denying it. The way out of industrial ıondage, she used to say, lies in the workers "getting together ınd fighting for one fraternal principle—the principle of social ıwnership of all the means of production."

New York, December 8 LEONARD D. ABBOTT

Exciting News from Oregon

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The recent election in Oregon deserves a special article in *The Nation,* and its results should be listed among the events of the year for which the editor is thankful.

We elected Mr. Julius Meier governor on an independent ticket, the first time in our history that an independent candidate has won. He polled more votes than his three opponents combined, on a platform calling for the public development and ownership of hydroelectric power and the abolishment of our so-called Public Service Commission. At the same time we enacted a constitutional amendment providing for power districts, the bill sponsored by the Grange and ably championed by Mr. Meier during the campaign. A similar bill was passed by the State of Washington at the same election.

This was Mr. Meier's first venture into politics. He is president of the large Meier and Frank department store, one of the largest on the Pacific Coast. He forsook his wealthy associates and defied them in taking up the fight for the public welfare started by his lifelong and dearly loved friend, State Senator Joseph, who was nominated on the same platform on the Republican ticket at the primaries and who suddenly died from a heart attack shortly after his nomination. The Republican State Central Committee met and scrapped the Joseph platform by nominating their former chairman as Mr. Joseph's successor.

This created a revolt. Nearly five thousand of us met at a mass-meeting in the city Auditorium and nominated Mr. Meier to run as an independent. As a candidate he fulfilled our highest expectations. In his addresses and in talks over the radio he struck out straight from the shoulder with facts and figures which left the private utilities gasping for breath. He conducted his campaign so squarely and honestly that he soon had hundreds of us campaigning for him, not as paid workers but as volunteers in a great cause and for the election of a splendid man. He will be a national figure soon.

At this same election, the congressional district including Portland, a strong Republican district in a strong Republican State, elected Major General Charles H. Martin, retired, against a Republican candidate who was up for reelection and who was sidestepping all the issues. General Martin was nominated as a Democrat by having his name written in at the primary. He made his own platform: public ownership, development, and operation of hydroelectric and a national referendum on prohibition. And in this, a "dry" State, he won hands down. He made absolutely no appeal for the soldier vote and did no boasting about his record, which is very distinguished. He was recently retired from the army, having passed the age limit, but is young in mind and body. He will be a force for good in Congress, as he will back every forward-looking movement, such as the two Norris bills. He is an independent Progressive Democrat—able, honest, and fearless.

To complete the picture I must mention the election of Ralph Clyde to the office of city commissioner by enough first-choice votes to elect for both a short term, lasting till July, 1931, and a long term of four years, beginning July, 1931. He ran on the same platform as Governor-elect Meier. He is president of our State Municipal Ownership League, a former member of the old city council, and a former legislator, who has always stood foursquare for municipal ownership and who is a terrible thorn in the side of the private utilities. He has already caused the commission to file on two good power sites for the City of Portland. He has an unbroken record of service for the common good.

Portland, Ore., December 6 CHARLES B. FRISBIE

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THE NATION & ATHENAEUM

38 Great James Street London, England

Counsel of Timidity

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have read the editorial in your issue of Novembe 26 entitled An Overcrowded Ocean, and I am unable to te whether you mean it to be for or against an American mei chant marine. Or are you really deploring the present ove crowded condition on the ocean? If *The Nation* is for a American merchant marine, more power to it. If you ar against an American merchant marine, I hope you may hav no influence. But to say that an overcrowded condition c business is a good reason for staying out of it is merely counsel of timidity. How about the last builder of one o these giant skyscrapers in New York City? Surely he is put ting up a building in an already overcrowded area. The onl way he can hope to fill his new building with tenants is t take them away from less desirable buildings.

I look at the acquisition of an American merchant ma rine as something that we need to have now that we hav grown up, just as a man may need a silk hat and a stick afte he gets along a bit. As for competition, if we build good enoug ships and if we cash in wisely on the joy of riding in a shi bearing our country's flag, we will not have to worry abou getting a fair share of passengers. Economically, it may b difficult, but it is not impossible.

Your editorial is cleverly written by someone who know his way about in marine affairs, but by one who gets hi leanings probably from the British idea of this thing, abl supported by the French, Germans, and Italians, not to mentio the Dutch and the Scandinavians.

Cleveland, November 29 A. H. Jansson

Contributors to This Issue

Ruth Finney is a Washington newspaperwoman who for many years has specialized on the power question.

Raymond Leslie Buell is the author of "The Native Problem in Africa."

Leslie Nelson Jennings contributes verse to various periodicals.

Lionel Trilling is a member of the department of English at Hunter College.

Felix Morrow is a contributor to current periodicals.

Gerald Sykes is a writer of fiction.

James Rorty is the author of "Children of the Sun."

Douglas Haskell, associate editor of the *Architectural Record,* has written on architecture for the *Studio, Creative Art,* and other publications.

CONSEQUENCES

By JULIA ELLSWORTH FORD

Introduction by John Haynes Holmes

Nathaniel Peffer, author of *China: The Collapse of a Civilization,* says: Julia Ellsworth Ford makes in "Consequences" a powerful statement of the case of the Eastern peoples against Western greed and exploitation. She makes a powerful statement of the bitter truth of the opium evil, originally foisted on China by the white man for money profit. If the novel form will lead to a wider reading and appreciation of these truths, Mrs. Ford will have done a great service.

Robert Morse Lovett, in *The New Republic,* says: The book is essentially timely in view of the whirlwind which Great Britain is now reaping in India after centuries of sowing the wind. The author's thesis is amply supported by authorities.

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Books, Architecture, Drama

Wilderness

By LESLIE NELSON JENNINGS

Only as we have entered here and gone
Is this a wilderness. We take away
Something that is no part of moss or stone,
Nameless before we came, but there to stay
Hidden where once an orchard strove against
The rocky hillside, or a cabin stood.
Most acreage is lonelier, being fenced,
Than any unsurrendered solitude.

Yet certain ones will push beyond the well-
Worn tracks to country whose fertility
Follows no plow, whose rivered valleys lie
Under an old, immitigable spell.
And they will know the silence, as a tree
Knows with its leaves the seasons and the sky.

The Writers Talk Shop

Modern Writers at Work. Edited by Josephine K. Piercy. The Macmillan Company. $4.

THE editor of this symposium-anthology is a modest young woman instructor at Indiana University, who suddenly found herself told off to inoculate her classes with the principles of English composition. The assignment seemed appalling. The untutored taste of her charges ran to *Whiz Bang* and *True Stories*. Their opinion of the classics was reflected in the words of Ted Babbitt, son of the illustrious George F.: "I don't see why they give us this old-fashioned junk by Milton and Shakespeare and Wordsworth and all these has-beens." But they were good Americans, and so could be counted upon to become alert and attentive in the presence of contemporary Success. So she sent out an S. O. S. to recognized writers. "They will accept your advice," she wrote, "because of the tangible evidence of your success; whereas they are often disposed to be skeptical of textbook theory."

The writers addressed rose to this appeal astonishingly. Their motive may have been vanity, pity, or pure altruism, but at bottom, I suspect, most authors are as fond of discussing the elusive mysteries and technique of their work as golfers are of debating the secrets of good form. The comparison goes further. Perhaps it is because we take golf more seriously than writing that we come, in general, to more intelligent conclusions about it. The majority, I have no doubt, still believe that a great "born" writer will reveal his genius in writing without previous instruction, good models, or even persistent practice; yet the same persons would consider it idiotic to suppose that a man, of whatever innate gifts, could take a golf club in his hands for the first time and make anything but a ridiculous showing against a tournament golfer. The analogy could easily be pushed too far, but if the average writer spent as much dogged pains over his prose as the average golfer does over his swing the general level of our writing would rise remarkably.

It is at least a satisfaction to observe that very few of the scores of well-known writers who answered Miss Piercy's distress signal take the "inspiration" theory very seriously. Irving Babbitt, of course, cannot write three lines without damning romanticism, but I must say that he seems to me thoroughly sound when he remarks:

> Ever since the rise of the romantic movement in the eighteenth century, a conception of creation has prevailed that puts entirely too much emphasis on "genius" and spontaneous overflow and not enough emphasis on sustained effort and conscious culture.

Walter de la Mare is convinced that "whatever natural gifts a writer may possess, all the evidence goes to prove that only constant hard and even painful work can do them justice." Ernest Hemingway thinks "it might take a lifetime to write prose well." And Zona Gale believes writing is like any other skill or art. Mastery cannot be acquired

> . . . in words any more than in notes or in paint or in marble without long and intimate practice. The beautiful part is that after one has worked at it for a little time as drudgery, it opens like a flower and becomes a delight. Everybody who plays knows that such a moment arrives in studying the piano. To a linguist such a moment arrives in studying a language. It arrives in the acquiring of any technique from ice skating up. No one skates from inspiration alone.

Miss Gale is the only contributor, so far as I recall, who actually uses the word delight in connection with the act of writing. Most of the authors appear to go through all the agonies of childbirth. James Harvey Robinson finds it "just as hard to write at sixty-five as twenty-five"; and Walter de la Mare remarks:

> Writers so dissimilar as Dr. Johnson and Cardinal Newman have declared that literary composition is one of the most laborious of all human activities, and if my own very limited experience is of any value, it convinces me that the difficulties involved in the craft of writing by no means diminish with practice.

This at least does not seem to be true of Bertrand Russell, who remarks:

> I wrote very carefully, with many corrections, until I had passed the age of thirty. . . After that, I felt that my style was formed, for good or for evil. I now hardly ever make any corrections in a manuscript, beyond altering a word where there is an unintentional repetition.

Mr. Russell adds that he always composes each sentence in full in his head before beginning to write it out. Mr. Mencken seems to follow an almost identical method:

> I write slowly, using a typewriter, and think out every sentence very carefully before setting it down. If, after completing a paragraph, I find that I have got into muddy waters, I tear up the whole page and do it over. Once I have got to the end of my MS there is little to do save correct errors of the machine and minor slips of the mind.

Mr. Mencken also offers the biographical information that daily distractions compel him to do practically all his writing in the evenings, in three-hour sessions from seven to ten.

As for stylistic ideals, Bertrand Russell tells us that "from the age of about sixteen onwards, I formed the habit, in thought, of turning a sentence over and over in my mind, until I had a combination of brevity, clarity, and rhythm." He adds:

> Style consists, fundamentally, not in ornament, but in following the reader's natural development—his breathing, as regards rhythm; his thought, as regards ideas. To ignore style is to make life a succession of jolts and jars, a football scrimmage instead of a dance.

But for the most part the contributors stress negative rules. Gamaliel Bradford thinks that the most important thing is to make it a life business to get rid of clichés, "those deadly worn

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counters of phrase that circulate with all of us like dirty dollar bills." And Aldous Huxley remarks:

> My own ambition in teaching English has never risen higher than this: to teach my pupils to write grammar and sense in the fewest and least pretentious words. The great danger now is the journalistic habit of using long, pretentious, abstract words, lumped together in formless, doughy sentences.

The present symposium reflects a wide difference of opinion, as there has always been, on the merits of imitation. "In regard to authors who are to be patterns," writes Gamaliel Bradford, "I should say most emphatically avoid having any." Somerset Maugham believes just the contrary:

> My own impression is that the best masters to enable anyone to form a pleasant English style are Dryden, Swift, Addison, and Newman. For a long time I gave up half an hour a day to copying out passages of these authors.

And suppose, in spite of all these bewildering differences of practice and mutually canceling bits of advice, the most talented boy or girl of Indiana University does, after great toil, achieve an admirable style? Mr. Cabell is not encouraging:

> I do not know of any reason for moiling over your own "style" except that you may chance to enjoy this form of solitaire: for the benefit to be derived by any reader from careful writing—unless, to be sure, he reads for the benefit of his personal "style"—remains remarkably dubious.

HENRY HAZLITT

Lawrence's Last "Novel"

The Virgin and the Gipsy. By D. H. Lawrence. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.

THE tendency of Lawrence's later work was toward simplicity. The manner of his first novel, "The White Peacock," is rich, involved, almost Meredithian. This manner reached its height in the extremely subtle emotions and motives of "Women in Love." Thereafter, his work became less lambent and more plastic, and simpler in content and manner. The tendency reached its ultimate in "Lady Chatterley's Lover," which, despite lyric and ecstatic passages, is characterized by a directness and economy of style and a crisp limitation of the emotions it exploits. Two reasons may be given for this tendency: advancing maturity, which is generally thought to tone down or clarify an exuberant style, and Lawrence's growing didactic intention.

In terms of this tendency it is perhaps possible to interpret the sad failure of his posthumous "The Virgin and the Gipsy." It is possible to say that Lawrence allowed his tendency to simplicity to go too far. For "The Virgin and the Gipsy" is a restatement of Lawrence's sexual philosophy in terms so simple that the book is little more than a parody of that philosophy which, in so many volumes, he propounded with such persuasive insight.

The heroine of the book, Yvette, lives in an atmosphere of emotional hypocrisy and sexual deadness. Her situation seems hopeless, she seems the sure prey of middle-class English death in life, until she is awakened by a wandering gipsy. Her relationship with this man is outwardly slight, but, in the way of Lawrence's heroines, she feels his influence deep in her blood. It is not until he rescues her from the flood of a burst dam that they really confront each other; shivering from the cold and wet, they wait for the flood to send the walls of the house crashing about them; for warmth they go naked to bed together, impersonal in their shivering misery. When Yvette wakes from her sleep of exhaustion, the gipsy has gone, the flood has subsided, and she is being rescued by a police constable.

This is, of course, an old theme with Lawrence. But it is not on the ground that it is repetitious that the book may be condemned. If the theme of a woman being awakened by a man of another and "darker" race has figured in many of Lawrence's books, and if the "darker" man has assumed many transparent guises—Italian, Mexican, Hungarian, Welshman, gamekeeper—the theme was always developed with a wealth of clairvoyant detail. Each new use gave us new insight and new knowledge, or at least new interest. In this latest use, however, little more is done with the theme than to state it. The book is pitifully sparse and underdeveloped. If it is not devoid of moments of charm and penetration, that is because, even at his worst, Lawrence was a great writer.

But to explain the failure of "The Virgin and the Gipsy" by saying that it is the result of Lawrence's tendency toward simplification requires that we ignore the high excellence of his recent "The Escaped Cock." This book, though simple enough in its prose, is far from simple in its conception, and it is always satisfactorily full. And so one must look elsewhere than to the failure of Lawrence's talent for the complete reason for the distressing failure of the present posthumous work.

A good part of this reason may be found in the circumstances of the publication of the book, circumstances which must drastically mitigate the severity of the foregoing judgment of it. If, for instance, "The Virgin and the Gipsy" is not a novel at all, we cannot judge it so severely. And though the publishers announce it as a novel, in reality it is scarcely 35,000 words long. That is, despite the wide leads, wide margins, and blank pages of its format, it is a novelette or long short story. As such, it is entitled to sparse development and simple terms. But the influence of format, never to be underrated, will prevent most readers, especially those new to Lawrence, from applying to it any criteria save those for a work of large pretensions.

Another reason for leniency of judgment lies in the obscure note at the end of the volume to the effect that the work did not receive the author's revision. The reviewer knows nothing of Lawrence's method of working save that he wrote "The Rainbow" three times. The practice of rewriting after the framework is complete is common to many novelists, especially those who, like Lawrence, are philosophical and discursive. And it is highly conceivable that, given time, Lawrence would have written plenty of originality into the book.

Finally, it is by no means certain, if we have only a short story or only the framework of a novel, that either the story or the framework is complete. The publisher implies by silence that the work *is* complete—that is, brought to its intended conclusion even though unrevised. Several things, however, lay this open to doubt. The last page of the book as it stands is by no means necessarily conclusive; indeed, a considerable extraneous effort is needed to give it meaning. Again, it is not likely that "the little Jewess" and her blond lover, the Major, were so elaborately introduced only to be dropped in the middle of the story. The unlikelihood of this is increased when we remember that the gipsy woman's prophecies to Yvette of a momentous event by water, of a death in the family (her horrible grandmother is drowned in the flood), of the importance of a dark man are all fulfilled and given a functional importance, but that the prophecy about a blond man (the Major?) is not fulfilled.

In short, we have here either a work whose intended slightness is betrayed by its being misnamed a novel and bloated to look like something bigger than it is, or a work whose incompleteness is publicly exposed without sufficient explanation. Had

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it been published alone in a slighter, more modest volume as a minor and unpretentious work, or in a volume of collected posthumous items as the fragment of an unfinished novel, no word could be said against it and, indeed, few words about it. In its present form it indicates that Lawrence's powers were failing as his death approached, and this, if we may judge from the high quality of "The Escaped Cock," is far from true.

LIONEL TRILLING

Unorthodox Orthodoxy

God Without Thunder. By John Crowe Ransom. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

THE theologian, like the politician, must combine in his flock many diverse elements, and to this end he employs the same technique as the politician: his vague and diplomatic language means all things to all men. He talks and writes as if religion were an indefinite all-inclusive something. The modernist is most prone to this practice, but perhaps less culpable, since he isn't quite sure just what religion means to him. The conservative is more to be condemned since he does know what his religion consists of, but always bears in mind that "to define the faith is to limit the faithful." It is the merit of Mr. Ransom's "unorthodox defense of orthodoxy" that he speaks plainly and does not hesitate to distinguish religion from what it is not.

Incongruous as it may seem, the picture presented by the orthodox Mr. Ransom strikingly resembles that drawn by atheistic radicalism. Both orthodox and atheist resent the modernist attempt to define religion as morality, and consider religion a form of worship rather than a moral code. For both religion is unprogressive, opposed to the increase of secular activity, which increases man's sense of responsibility for his own destiny and decreases his trust in God. Both hold that ritual is absolutely essential to religion. They also agree in denying the claim of humanists like Dr. Potter and Professor Haydon that God is not necessary to religion; and they insist that the God without thunder of the modernist, "liberal," scientific reformulation of religion, a well-meaning, ineffectual God who cannot break his own laws, is not the God of the historical religions, and is useless for religious purposes; that a God for religion must, as it were, have teeth, be concrete, not a mere Principle. It is not really surprising that atheist and orthodox agree so well in describing "religion," for both are talking about the same small segment of the history of religion—the Catholic tradition of Christianity. That *is* religion, for the orthodox. As for the atheistic radical, he is not primarily interested in discovering what religion is, but in attacking it. Organized religion is today a bulwark of political and social reaction. With much justice the radical fears that modernism is endowing the church with intellectual respectability, while leaving it as before an instrument of conservatism. That religion may offer genuine satisfactions to the religious, that it need not necessarily be pro-capitalist—these are academic irrelevancies. Today the church is an enemy of social reconstruction. So the radical holds up, as religion, a picture of orthodox Christianity which is certainly intellectually disreputable.

As a description of orthodox Christianity it is in details more truthful than the interpretation offered by the orthodox themselves. Mr. Ransom, for instance, denies the atheist (and anthropologist) view—that it is the function of ritual to gain access to supernatural power in order to sway it to the purpose of those employing the ritual. He calls such use of ritual mere magic, not religion, though he makes the fatal qualification that many, perhaps most, religionists think of ritual in such a way. The true purpose of ritual, he declares, is "metaphysical." Just what he means is scarcely clear. Mr. Ransom and anyone else to the contrary, it can be easily proved that the supreme authorities of Roman and Greek Catholicism consider ritual an effective influence on the natural environment. How else can one interpret it, when the Pope orders prayers for Russia which, says the *Commonweal,* "may affect the future much more profoundly than the success or failure of the Soviet Government's Five-Year Plan"?

"God Without Thunder" has no other virtue besides its avoidance of theological dodges. It is full of fantastic Biblical exegesis; and its criticism of the modernist term "moral religion" is limited to attacking the conception of God as a dispenser of good only—the old Calvinist attack, but no longer possible, for no religion today can do without a theodicy. There are more significant uses of the term "moral religion" which need criticism—notably what Mr. Rockefeller means by it when he supports a denomination to preach it, what Mr. Coolidge meant when he said that government needed religion's moral aid in maintaining order. A large part of Mr. Ransom's space is taken up with the usual religionist diatribe against science, the substance of it being that science is not omnipotent; a conclusion which, presumably, should send us all looking for omnipotence in God. There is also the usual confusion of industrialism with the prevailing economic system of distribution, so that Science—the old Satan!—is blamed for the results of advertising and high-pressure salesmanship.

The enemy of organized religion might find "God Without Thunder" useful for propaganda purposes. Its import is that there are only two alternatives: secularism or resignation before God.

FELIX MORROW

Too Good to Be Smart

Wedding Day and Other Stories. By Kay Boyle. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $2.

KAY BOYLE is the outstanding young woman member of that group of American writers who make their headquarters in Paris and whose work until recently has appeared for the most part in the pages of *transition.* This volume of short stories, her first, was originally published in a special edition at Paris. Anyone who reads it and whose standards of the short story are not the standards of the correspondence school will appreciate that the work of Miss Boyle, for simple craftsmanship, is superior to most of that which is crowned annually by our anthologies. Anyone with an ear for new verbal harmonies will appreciate that Miss Boyle is a stylist of unusual taste and sensibility. It is time, therefore, to cease to regard her as a mere lower-case *révoltée* and to begin to accept her for what she is: more enterprising, more scrupulous, potentially more valuable than nine-tenths of our best-known women authors.

She is potentially valuable because it is possible—as it is so rarely possible—that she may write something that has not been written before. When we have read these few brief stories we realize that they sprang from a genuine inner necessity, that the author was helplessly obliged to communicate them with that blind honesty which is the best augury for the future. We also realize that she has an original gift. This gift is a sexual one. With the first sentence of the first story—"the horses . . . stamping and lashing themselves with fury because she passed by them"—we are thrust into the presence of feelings which could have been generated in no other place than a woman's body. And those pages which come to life prove almost invariably to have been written either by or about desire. This is a difficult subject to handle. Miss Boyle's solution, which for the most part is mischievous, not only stakes out

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a new field for herself but gives the clearest evidence of her integrity. For although she has allowed herself absolute freedom on one of the most delicate of all subjects she has not written an offensive line. In fact, she has put to shame nearly every other emancipated woman writer who has attempted to deal with this subject: she is by comparison so simple, so honest, so pure. It is probable that the two stories in which she has given comic treatment to sexual themes, Episode in the Life of an Ancestor and Summer, mark the highest stage of her development.

In view of her virtues it is all the more unfortunate that her work abounds in mannerisms, that it lacks a face of its own, that it bears so continually the stamp of fashionable influences. It is unfortunate that she has expended so much of her freedom in exile toward the development of an impeccability of style which is after all but the testimony of her admiration for Hemingway, Cocteau, and others. The result of her smartness is that even her best work has its roots in nothing, being nourished by the repetition of a repetition. Surely we must all be aware by this time that we cannot hope to grow orchids in America until we have had our hardy perennials. One wonders if Miss Boyle is aware that she has only to look within herself to find strong and deep roots for her art. Does she know that she is much better when she describes a lover's kiss—"his mustache tasting of snow"—than when she repeats the jumbled password of the advance guard?

GERALD SYKES

The Right to Work

Some Folks Won't Work. By Clinch Calkins. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $1.50.

CHRISTIAN and philanthropic in origin and philosophy, "evolutionary" in tactics, the settlement movement in this country is, from the radical point of view, merely one expression of our contemporary industrial feudalism. Extreme radicals, of course, would go farther and say that the settlement movement is a defense mechanism of the possessing class, financed and controlled as an insurance against revolution. To the writer, himself a settlement resident for a brief period, this latter view is not quite accurate or realistic. Social institutions have a way of outgrowing their sponsorship and achieving a life and function of their own. One has only to remember the career of Miss Jane Addams, which has not been lacking in courage, humanity, and realistic intelligence. In evaluating our instrumentalities of social change, the settlements are worth something, and occasionally they do something which cannot be interpreted merely as an attempt to keep the apple cart from tipping over.

They have done something about unemployment—not enough, but something. In June, 1928, the National Federation of Settlements appointed an Unemployment Committee under the chairmanship of Miss Helen Hall, director of University House, Philadelphia. The committee undertook to gather evidence of the effects of unemployment on the individual and the family; it assembled over three hundred case-histories from thirty cities in twenty-three States. This material will shortly be published as a sourcebook by the University of Pennsylvania Press. Meanwhile, Miss Clinch Calkins has made it the basis of an eloquent polemic against the stupid complacency with which well-placed people regard a phenomenon which threatens the very existence of our civilization: not the phenomenon of unemployment incident to a severe business depression such as the present, but the growing percentage of capable, thrifty, faithful workers who were unable to get jobs during the prosperous period between June, 1928, and March, 1929; the progressive scrapping of human assets incident to the "progress" of our laissez faire business civilization.

Here is a close-up of the widening and deepening labor pool without which our business and industrial diehards say they cannot do business. Here, as Miss Calkins points out, is not tragedy, for out of the tragic finalities of destruction and loss the human spirit can sometimes extract purgation and renewal; here is merely cumulative misery, hunger, disease, insanity, and hopelessness; the progressive rotting away of unused human skill, strength, honesty, and courage. Here is the human terror, the social abomination back of that ominous statistical curve which shows, according to the report of the President's Committee on Recent Economic Changes, that between 1920 and 1927 some 650,000 factory workers were displaced from industrial employment without reappearing, so far as the statisticians could figure out, safely imbedded in that cushion of secondary commercial employment which our laissez faire optimists are always pointing to.

As a poet, Miss Calkins is well equipped to write a moving appeal to the conscience and good-will of middle-class people who know nothing about unemployment except as a mounting curve on a statistical graph. I wonder how many of them will read it or do anything about it if they do read it. The immediate thing to do, of course, is to secure the passage of the Wagner bills in Congress this winter. Democratic institutions will be on trial, if ever, in this struggle, and it is encouraging to note that settlement workers are organizing to do their part.

The concluding chapter of the book is a study of Detroit in the "black winter" of 1929-30—less black, incidentally, than the winter that is now upon us—by Miss Helen Hall. Revealing as it does the chronic part-time torture of these "well-paid" automobile workers, it points to the need of a thorough statistical overhauling of that open-shop paradise, including the Ford Motor Company.

JAMES RORTY

Books in Brief

The Magnificent Illusion. By E. Boyd Barrett. Ives Washburn. $3.

The author of "The Jesuit Enigma" and "While Peter Sleeps" has here written his autobiography, a sincere and moving narrative done with great simplicity. It is the story of an Irish priest, a Jesuit. It tells of his long struggle to approach perfection in his religion, of his studies and work in psychology and interest in modern psychotherapy, of his ideal of the priest-analyst, of the influences within his order that opposed his plans and crippled his efforts, and of his final decision, arrived at in New York after a series of humiliations, to leave the priesthood. The story is told with detachment and generosity of spirit.

Alexander. By Klaus Mann. Translated by Marion Saunders. Brewer and Warren. $2.

The reader approaches a novel by the son of Thomas Mann as a loyal subject might approach the son of a beloved king. He loves the young prince beforehand and hopes against hope that he will have inherited his father's virtues. For in the province of letters, of course, it depends upon the reader to determine the right of succession. "Alexander" is the second short novel by Klaus Mann and it is based upon the life of Alexander the Great. It is a new interpretation of Alexander's character and career, assuming he was homosexual and advancing the theory that he became the conqueror of the world because his advances to a boyhood chum were scorned. Much

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s made of his two boyhood chums, Clitus and Hephaestion. Eventually, fulfilling the formula of Oscar Wilde, he kills them both because he loves them. He is a remarkably weak, indecisive, embittered, and tearful Alexander. If a well-known distinction by Marcel Proust is valid, it would seem that Klaus Mann has made the mistake of interpreting the virile Greek type of homosexual according to the effeminate modern man-woman. Aside from the matter of interpretation, however, it is extremely doubtful if Klaus Mann, though he is still very young, will ever succeed to his father's throne. His work reflects an unfortunate mixture of timidity and resentment.

Architecture

The Stripes of the News

THE News building in New York is one that achieves an astonishing effect by a sort of bold negation. It presents itself as almost nothing but a series of stripes, nothing but surface pattern. Probably no building in America looks more like a huge backdrop, a sheet of awning, an enormous curtain, or a dazzling banner against the sky. The vertical stripes of dark red brick contain the windows, and alternate white stripes, as in the American flag, are the ribbon-like piers. Even the window shades with their lighter hue of red are a part of this textile weave, and at night the lights shine through them merrily, as if the building were a sort of gigantic paper illumination on parade.

The curious weightlessness, whereby the building, like the banner or the paper box, seems less to stand than to float, derives from the fact that the load appears, by a neat trick, to have been dispersed with exact equality along the whole row of shallow columns, on which no horizontals are allowed to lay burden. The lack of horizontals has also almost destroyed perspective and depth, as in a forest of sticks. The building has no middle and no top: the stripes simply jump off into space. There is hardly a silhouette: the stripes simply stop repeating themselves; and the setbacks are so few and so generous as to seem, like the top, to have been cut with the scissors. All is pattern, through and through.

It is just because this textile mode asks so little of us, I believe, that we can accept it so gratefully. On any city street, however narrow, are a dozen buildings, each high, each insistent on its own "mass" and its complicated setbacks and the scale of its graduated ornament—and all of them, in short, canceling one another. We just don't see them at all. Appears a simple pattern, such as the News, and there at once is something we can grasp—from nearby, from far away, from high or low, and even in small patches from around the corner and down the street. There at last is a type of building that can strike always as a unit; amidst the jumbled roar it inserts a neat pizzicato on a single note.

Of course, a dozen buildings of the same pattern would cancel the advantage once more and drive you dizzy; but the pattern need not always be the same. Already there have appeared a dozen tentative variations in this city alone; and the reason is that you can hang almost anything on a steel frame. That is, the frame, the real support of the building, is nothing but a clothes-tree, or a sort of battening, in relation to what is aptly called the "curtain wall." This skyscraper wall, which carries nothing, not even its own weight, held up as it is on its steel-frame battening, and which serves only for insulation, has tended to become ever thinner and flatter; and that is why, in economy, it now invites color patterns on its outside rather than sculpture or modeling.

Shall we then grant Mr. Hood, the architect, his contention that the News design was inherent in the structure and the plan? Not quite. As I understand it, he was required with his windows to secure one thing—that there should be space enough between any two of them for the owner to be able to run partitions on the inside; but beyond that the architect was almost fancy-free. His stripes, had he wished it, could have run horizontally (as in his own Beaux-Arts apartments), or on the bias, or there might have been none at all, or a checkerboard effect, and so on. None of these would have required any change in solving the problem of light. Indeed, this building makes no startling innovations; there is no superior structural logic; not even, for all the appearance of lightness, is there any diminution of actual weight.

And so the great outward simplicity of the News seems to have carried us right to the edge between two future lines of development—the one of architecture, the other of what is perhaps something else. Already the "450 Sutter" building in San Francisco, by Miller and Pflueger, appears to have carried a similar simplicity on into a nobler structural harmony. But the News also portends the development of another art. This art too has its claims; it is gay and colorful; it too has renounced scale and excessive study; it too thrives under congested conditions and so is calculated to make its impact at once, before you turn the page. To the profound meditations of the reader I submit the subject of architecture as an advertising art.

DOUGLAS HASKELL

Films

Selling Sophistication

IT is all very well for literary critics to discuss absolute standards and relative standards, standards (loud cheers) and standards (boos and catcalls). The movie critic has very little use for such fine distinctions. The only standard acknowledged in the movies is the Main Street standard, and whatever may be said of Main Street, I doubt if even Mr. Gilbert Chesterton will claim for it a highly developed sense of artistic discrimination. This is one of the reasons why it may be profitable sometimes to consider films not so much for what they are when judged by themselves as for the light they throw on the views and sentiments of the audience they have been made to please.

This week I have been moved to adopt this course by two pictures that seem to be particularly characteristic of the state of mind of the big public. They are "Fast and Loose," shown at the Paramount, and "Laughter," which preceded it there a week or two earlier. Of both of them it must be said that in their lightness of touch and their pains (sufficiently disguised) to get away from the obvious they represent Hollywood at its best. That this best does not amount to very much if measured by the creative standard need not be stressed in this instance. The important fact about the two pictures is the evidence they contain of the workings of the Main Street mind. The evidence is of course indirect, for it comes only from the makers of the films; but these shrewd judges of their public know what they are doing, and when we see them selling "sophistication" to Main Street we can be sure that this is the sort of sophistication that Main Street wants and appreciates.

So, behold sophistication, grade "Society." We are introduced to a banker's family in a Long Island home. Bankers being the height of the social ambition of Main Street—the American equivalent, so to speak, of their lordships across the ocean—the one in "Fast and Loose" is treated with all the deference that is due his rank. But unlike the bankers themselves, Main Street is rather scornful of British aristocracy,

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WITHIN THE FORTNIGHT

Plays to See

†Art and Mrs. Bottle—See advertisement.
*Elizabeth The Queen—Guild—52 St., W. of B'way.
‡Fine and Dandy—Erlangers—W. 44 St.
*Fritz Leiber—Ambassador—49 St., W. of B'way—Begin. Dec. 25.
*Grand Hotel—National—W. 41 St.
†Lysistrata—44 Street—44 St., W. of B'way.
†Oh Promise Me—Morosco—W. 45 St.
†Once in a Lifetime—Music Box—W. 45 St.
*On the Spot—Forrest—49 St., W. of B'way.
*Overture—Longacre—220 W. 48 St.
*Roar China—Martin Beck—45 St., W. of Eighth Ave.
†The Greeks Had a Word For It—Harris—42 St., W. of B'way.
†The Man in Possession—Booth—45 St., W. of B'way.
†This is New York—Plymouth—45 St., W. of B'way.
‡Three's a Crowd—Selwyn—W. 42 St.
†Tonight or Never—Belasco—44 St., E. of B'way.
†Twelfth Night—See advertisement.
†Vinegar Tree—Playhouse—48 St. E. of B'way.

Concerts and Recitals

Yehudi Menuhin—Carnegie Hall—Fri. Eve., Jan. 2.
Joseph Szigeti—Carnegie Hall—Mon. Eve., Dec 29.
Philharmonic-Symphony—Carnegie Hall—Sun. Aft., Dec. 21, 28 at 3; Thurs. Eve., Dec. 25, Jan. 1; Sat. Eve., Dec. 27 at 8:45; Fri. Aft., Dec. 26 Jan. 2 and Mon. Aft. Dec. 29 at 2:30. Arturo Toscanini conducting.
Bach's Christmas Oratorio (Friends of Music)—Metropolitan—Sun. Aft., Dec. 21 at 4.
La Argentina—Town Hall—Tues. Eve., Dec. 16; Sat. Eve., Dec. 20 at 8:30; Thurs. Aft., Dec. 18 at 3.

For Children

Young Peoples Concert—Carnegie Hall—Mon. Aft. Dec. 29 at 2:30. Paderewski, soloist, Ernest Schelling conducting.
Grand Opera for Children—Town Hall—Fri. Dec. 26, Mon. Dec. 29, Tues. Dec. 30 at 11 A. M.
The Puppet Players in Rumpelstiltskin and Variety—233 W. 48 St., Fri. Dec 26, through Sat. Jan. 3 at 3 P. M.

Films

What a Widow, beginning Sat., Dec. 20; With Byrd at the South Pole, beginning Wed., Dec. 24—The Plaza—58 St. E. of Madison Ave.
Disraeli, beginning Sat., Dec. 20; The Green Goddess, beginning Wed., Dec. 24—8 St. Playhouse—52 W 8 St.
The Land of the Midnight Sun, beginning Sat., Dec. 20—5th Avenue Playhouse—66 Fifth Ave.
"Sous Les Toits De Paris"—Little Carnegie—57 St. E. of 7 Ave.
News Reel—Embassy—B'way and 46 St.
Zwei Herzen Im 3-4 Takt (German)—55 St. Playhouse—E. of 7 Ave.

Lectures and Discussions

"The Treason of the Intellectuals"—Auditorium—150 W. 85 St.—See Advertisement.
Rand School of Social Science.—See Advertisement.
Will the Companionate Marriage Better Our Morals?—League for Public Discussion.—See Advertisement.
Our Machine Civilization—What Next?—League for Industrial Democracy.—See Advertisement.
Free Love vs Companionate Marriage—League for Public Discussion.—See Advertisement.
"Impressions of 1930 America" by Abbe Ernest Dimnet—Cooper Union—8 St. and 4 Ave.—Sun., Dec. 21 at 2:30.

Ball

New Year's Eve Artists' Costume Ball.—See Advertisement.

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MARIUS UNDERWOOD, on:
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and accordingly it gets the silly ass of an English lord to satisfy its democratic resentment. So far it is all pretty orthodox. But with the young members of the family enters sophistication. The spoiled and irresponsible son and daughter kick against the boredom of conventional existence, the son deciding to marry a chorus girl, and the daughter choosing for her mate a young mechanic whom she meets at night bathing in a lonely spot. The affair of the daughter, a girl of Rossettian beauty as portrayed by Miss Miriam Hopkins, is the high spot of the fast and loose behavior of the young sophisticates. One is startled at the discovery of the familiar twists and tricks of "You Never Can Tell" and "Man and Superman" suddenly bobbing up in a film that uses them not only to shock its audience, but also to teach the lesson of the moral superiority of Main Street over Park Avenue.

In "Laughter" we are treated to another variety of sophistication that is being sold to Main Street—sophistication, grade "Artistic Bohemia." Here a young chorus girl married to a bankers rebels against her loveless bondage to cars, frocks, and jewels, and goes back to her artist-musician to listen to him humming his latest masterpiece in the Café de la Paix, Paris. It is extraordinary how tenacious of life is this conception of an artist. It is true, his long hair has gone, but in the divine simplicity of his heart he still breaks into other people's houses, treats himself to anything he finds there, and even plays the piano with a leg of chicken in his hand. Main Street is sure to be hugely pleased with this superb indifference to Emily Post's precepts of propriety.

As a descriptive picture of native life in Siberia "Igdenbu" (Cameo) is highly recommended. Its story is rather weak, and in its treatment it does not come up to the level of "Moana" or "Nanook," but it occasionally approaches them, and there is much in it that is truly beautiful. "Razlom" (Eighth Street Playhouse) deals with a revolutionary theme in a very conventional manner.

Alexander Bakshy

Drama

"A Great Man's First Play"

Gilbert Gabriel, commenting on "Overture," referred to it as "a great man's first play," but to me the tragic significance of the piece at the Longacre is the fact that it is a great man's last dramatic work. As one who has always had an enthusiastic devotion to the prose of William Bolitho, I was skeptical about the manner in which his talent might adapt itself to theatrical conditions. "Overture" swept all my doubts away. Here was a mind so keen and eager that even a new medium could not disguise its brilliance.

Elements of true greatness are to be observed in "Overture," although it is simple enough to point out flaws. In a sense this is a fragment. The subject matter was never thought through to a logical conclusion. Indeed, I came away with the impression that Bolitho very nearly upset his own convictions. If we may employ such simple words as "hero" and "villain" in a desire for familiar labels, it is fair to say that the villain runs away with the play.

Among other enthusiasms of Bolitho was a passionate opposition to the philosophy and practices of Soviet Russia, but Maxim, the Communist in "Overture," is not only the most interesting character but the most appealing as well. I can hardly believe that the dramatist intended to endear him to the audience by introducing a scene in which the red leader calmly walks off stage and shoots a prisoner in cold blood.

In a sense Bolitho has undertaken to do the Russian Revolution on a small scale, although his revolt is placed in a small

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German city. The contest lies between Maxim, the uncom promising proletarian, and Karl Ritter, the disciple of modera tion. Now there must be more to be said for the right win of the radical movement than comes into "Overture." Maxin is real, convincing, and logical. Captain Ritter is a sort o musical-comedy tenor. The tragedy of his frustration and hi fall is mitigated by the fact that his failure is so utterly deserved

No reviewer has a right to rule out the downfall of th inefficient. Even though the fate of such a figure may be in evitable, it can serve to produce poignancy. But I don't think the ultimate result is aided if it is too obvious. A tragedy should be something like a boxing bout, and few of us will thrill when a featherweight is thrown into the ring against a heavyweight champion.

But "Overture" does not miss poignancy on this account. Having created a musical-comedy tenor for a hero, Bolitho has also added a prim eighteenth-century miss as heroine and called her the leader of the working women of Herfeld. In spite of a vivid train of incident these two never caught me up emotionally, because I was forever suspicious of the fact that they had ever lived. Here is the remarkable feature of "Overture." Even though the hero and the heroine are mentally thrown out of the ring for stalling, you still have a magnificent and engrossing play, with Maxim as the most exciting character who has walked a stage hereabouts in many seasons.

By a queer turn of affairs Bolitho, the ardent anti-Communist, has written the most appealing play yet devised in defense of Communist philosophy. Such consciously engendered efforts as "Roar China" are feeble in comparison. I suppose the answer lies in the fact that the unconscious still remains the greatest creative force in man. Though many will dissent, my own conviction is that artistic Russia has not yet recovered from the revolution. The much-applauded Soviet films seem to me not only Hollywood but bad Hollywood—the Hollywood of fifteen years ago. All the propaganda of the modern Russian novel and the modern Russian play is dusty with the wood shavings of overemphasis and too precise a purpose. And lest I be set down as one too prejudiced to venture an opinion, I will shift the field of investigation and base my theory on what went on in America during our war days. I remember that one magazine announced that even its fiction would be built on the win-the-war motive, and the resulting crop of stories marked a new low in American literature. Yet some of these authors were sincere and earnest and a few had ability when functioning under normal conditions.

I think that normal conditions for the average artist are a complete freedom from any regimentation of belief. In fact, I would take issue with Upton Sinclair's "Mammonart" and declare that finer poetry, sculpture, and drama have been done for money than for the Catholic church, the Soviet Republic, or the Boy Scout movement. One can be eloquent in writing about a worker and deadly dull in fashioning a figure which stands for the Working Class. When symbolism comes into the theater I like to slip out the side door.

But one point should not be overlooked. The fact that Maxim, a Communist deputy, is one of the finest theatrical portraits etched hereabouts in recent years cannot be divorced from the circumstance that the performance of Pat O'Brien is far and away the best of the season.

HEYWOOD BROUN

Robert Sherwood's new play "This Is New York" (Plymouth) concerns a South Dakota Senator who represents the national prejudices against the metropolis, but who finds himself publicly involved with racketeers and kept women through the indiscretions of his daughter. It is a shrewd and pleasant comedy, chiefly notable for its portrait of a canting Senator, admirably acted by Robert T. Haines. H. H.

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Vol. V. No. 4

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Other Resorts on Page iii

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Militarism in Modern Dress

By PAUL VON SCHOENAICH

[*Baron von Schoenaich, prominent German pacifist, was once equally prominent as a military man. He entered the German navy in* 1883, *serving until* 1887, *when he was transferred to the army. From* 1907 *to* 1912 *he was stationed in the Ministry of War in Berlin; the following two years he commanded the* 15*th Hussar Regiment, and in* 1915 *was given command of the* 14*th Dragoon Regiment. At the end of* 1915 *he was put in charge of one of the important divisions of the Ministry of War, remaining there until the Versailles treaty was signed. During the remainder of* 1919 *he commanded the cavalry units in the Reichswehr. Early in* 1920 *he was retired from active service with the rank of major general. He has since been writing on many subjects, including principally disarmament and peace.*]

PARAGRAPH 177 of the Versailles peace treaty forbids Germany to impart military instruction of any kind to its youth. This decision was based upon the belief that Germany was through and through a militaristic country and as such represented a peril to world peace. It might be well to determine, before going farther, of just what the essence of militarism consists. It does not lie in the character and strength of the military establishment, but rather is to be found in the spirit which gives the military more influence or power in a state than the civil authorities possess. In this sense Germany without doubt was the most militaristic country in the world.

Like all other clauses of the treaty having to do with disarmament, however, Paragraph 177 overlooks the fact that as a result of the World War the whole military technique has been thrown overboard. The time of huge, slow-moving armies is past. Wars hereafter will not be decided alone by the number of soldiers that can be placed in the field, but the outcome will lie to a much greater extent with the industrial and transportation workers at home. Moreover, the development of human material that can be used for fighting purposes is a wholly different matter now from what it formerly was. Paragraph 177 forbids something which in one way has become valueless, and which in another way, because it belongs to popular sports and the workers' daily life, simply cannot be forbidden.

What is the situation today? Sports, particularly among the youth of the nation, have gained much greater importance than they had before the war. Even in the smallest villages athletic fields seem to grow up out of the soil, while the budgets of the state and communal governments in ever larger measure are being devoted to the financial support of all kinds of sporting activities. These activities are developing physical and spiritual qualities in youth that are of value to the whole people. They are also of the greatest worth for the technique of modern warfare. A good football player can move more dextrously through "No Man's Land" than can a poor one. A track athlete can adapt himself more quickly to the hardships of war than a stay-at-home. Clearly, the furtherance of sporting activities such as is taking place in Germany today serves the general wel being of the nation and militarism equally well.

There is one other factor in the situation, and this perhaps of the greatest importance. Sports discipline pr motes worker discipline. Many farsighted industrialists ha had their own athletic fields laid out alongside their factorie There also has entered into this phase of the sports mov ment the consideration that workers who take to games ar athletics in their spare time will be less likely to conce themselves with wage and strike questions during the leisure hours. Thus the movement to promote sports presen three questions: those involved in the general welfare the people, in militarism, and in the development of workin class morale; and these three are inextricably interwove

As a result of reflection on the problems involved i this development there has arisen in France, and in my beli with full justice, the opinion that consideration of the di armament question can no longer be confined to the numb and equipment of the soldiery, but also must include th whole *potentiel de guerre*. This *potentiel de guerre* is com posed, however, not only of the material defenses of a cou try, but also of its industrial capacity and of the physic welfare of its people. One dares not cripple either th general well-being of a people or the industrial capacity of country, even out of fear that their development may lea to their misuses in the interest of war. Hence the entire di armament question finds itself shunted into a blind alle

There is only one way out. Mankind must disar itself spiritually. The age-old belief, which still obtains i this day of closely interrelated cultural and economic inte ests, that the victor has something to gain by war must b burned out of men's minds with a red-hot poker. Th healthy and natural egoism of mankind must be appealed t and convinced that war is no longer profitable.

What is Germany doing in this direction? To stic one's head in the sand and say nothing has no point what ever. One must speak out boldly. There are great number of German people, including even some of those who stan far to the left politically, who today are thinking precisel as militaristically as they did before the war. The Ministe of Defense today is exactly what he has always been (man people say even more so), the most powerful minister i the whole Cabinet. The Minister of Finance rarely dare strike a single item from the Defense Ministry's budget And this spirit has naturally found its way to an alarmin degree into the sports associations and clubs of Germany' youths. Virtually the only exceptions are to be found amon the young Socialists and workers.

All these things must be considered if one wishes t understand the significance of the sports training of youth on the one hand and the difficulties confronting sincer pacifists on the other. There remains but the hope that a improvement in the general economic situation will also brin to Germany's youth recognition of the fact that peace nour ishes and war wastes.

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